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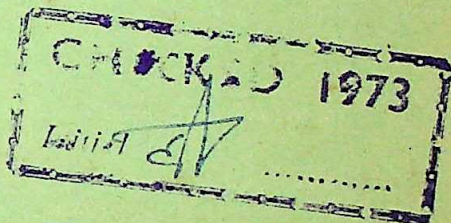
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THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT ON GERMAN SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE.

By HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP

Germany got her first information about India during the Middle Ages from the Greek and Latin historians of the wars of Alexander the Great and indirectly through Christian legends like that of Barlaam and Josaphat which relates the life of Buddha in Christian garb. The first Indian work translated into German was the *Panchatantra*, the famous book of fables. At the instigation of Count Eberhard the Bearded of Württemberg, Anton von Pforr rendered it into German (about A.D. 1480) from a Latin version, which itself depended on a chain of Hebrew, Arabic, and Pahlavi translations. This so-called *Book of Examples of the Old Sages* had a wonderful success and influenced German fiction greatly.

Journal Volume XXIII (1957), Letters No. 1 and Science No. 1, will be issued subsequently in a combined form as the Meghnad Saha Number.

General Secretary.

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The first German scholar who knew Sanskrit and wrote a book on Indian religion and philosophy was Friedrich Schlegel. In 1802, during his stay in Paris for the purpose of studies, he made the acquaintance of an Englishman, Alexander Hamilton, who had learnt the Sanskrit language in India. On his return Hamilton was detained in France, because Napoleon had enforced the isolation of England from the Continent. This circumstance, very unfortunate for Hamilton himself, turned out to be a very great boon for German science, because it enabled a brilliant young German poet to study a language for which it was very difficult at that time to procure a teacher or a grammar. After his return to Germany Friedrich Schlegel published in 1808 a book *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (Of the Language and Wisdom of the Indians) which contributed greatly to direct the attention of men of letters to a hitherto almost entirely hidden domain of knowledge. Friedrich Schlegel later on abandoned his Sanskrit studies but his brother August Wilhelm Schlegel, the famous translator of Shakespeare's plays, made it the study of his life. He published

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When the great Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama had explored the sea-route from Europe to India in 1498, the reports on India increased in number and quality from year to year. Abraham Roger's *Open Door to Hidden Heathendom* published in Dutch in 1651 and translated into German in 1663 gave for the first time an account of Hinduism from the viewpoint of a Catholic Missionary. Some preachers of the Christian Faith like the Father Henry Roth (about 1650) and J. E. Hanzleden (died in 1732) did pioneering work in the investigation of the Sanskrit language, and the Protestant Missionary Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (died in 1719) wrote works on Tamil grammar and the religion of Malabar.

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text-editions of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Rāmāyana*. Since 1818 he occupied the first chair of Indology established in Germany at the newly founded University of Bonn.

A contemporary of the Schlegels was Francis Bopp, the celebrated inaugurator of Comparative Philology. He wrote a work on the *System of Conjugation in the Sanskrit Language* (1816) and published critical editions of the story of Nala and Damayanti and other parts of the *Mahābhārata*.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the interest taken in India was very common with German poets and philosophers. The English translation of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* of which GEORG FORSTER had given a German rendering had created quite a stir among German men of letters. Never, perhaps, has the famous work found a greater admirer than GOETHE who said of it, that it embodies at the same time the blossoms of spring and the fruits of fall, that it charms and feeds simultaneously, that it comprises in itself Heaven and Earth. GOETHE is indebted to this work for the prologue of 'Faust' where, as in Indian plays, the director of the theatre converses with the actors. Among other poets of this time who were greatly influenced by Indian literature we may mention Frederick RÜCKERT. A professor of Oriental languages who knew Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian this great poet translated in a manner till now unsurpassed many works of Indian poetry from the *Atharvaveda* to the *Gītāgovinda*. RÜCKERT also wrote many poems dealing with Indian themes. Especially his 'Wisdom of the Brahman' is deeply imbued with Indian thought. Rückert was succeeded by many other poets who have made India the scene of their poetical works. To what extent India met with universal enthusiasm in the first quarter of the nineteenth century may be gathered from the fact that even the Prussian Minister of Education, Wilhelm von HUMBOLDT, learned Sanskrit. We owe to him a brilliant paper on the *Bhagavadgītā* w which he read in the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin in 1825.

The whole of knowledge on ancient India acquired during the first half of the nineteenth century was in a very able form collected and summarized in the four volumes of Christian Lassen's *Indische Altertumskunde* (Indian Archaeology, 1843-1862). A Norwegian by birth, he was a pupil of A. W. Schlegel and succeeded him in the Chair of Indology at Bonn, which being then the capital of Sanskrit learning was called the Benares on the Rhine.

Since the establishment of the first professorship of 1818, Sanskrit was taught by and by in almost all of the German Universities existing at that time, but so great was the number of scholars who had devoted their life to this study that some of them were called to foreign countries requiring the services of Sanskritists. The most prominent of these was F. Max Müller. Born in 1825 in Dessau as the son of the poet Wilhelm Müller, famous for his enthusiastic intercession for the Greeks in their struggle for liberty, he was a pupil of the great French savant Burnouf. Still a youth he began, with the help of a subsidy by the East India Company, his edition of the *Rigveda* which was published from 1849 to 1875. In 1850 he became a Professor at Oxford where he lived until his death in 1900. Besides his monumental work he wrote many books on comparative religion, the *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, on the sayings of Ramakrishna, etc. Further he edited the fifty volumes of the great collection, *Sacred Books of the East*. Max Müller opened up a long line of German scholars in British service employed either in England (namely Theodore Goldstücker in London, Theodore Aufrecht and Eggeling both successively professors of Sanskrit in Edinburgh) or in India, namely Kielhorn, Bühler, Hoernle and Thibaut.

Since the time of Max Müller the study of the *Veda* has always been a chief object of German indologists. It is therefore not astonishing that

all the four vedic *Samhitās* have been critically edited for the first time by Germans: the *Rigveda* by Max Müller and by Th. Aufrecht, the *Sāmaveda* by Th. Benfey (1848), a scholar who later on devoted himself chiefly to the study of the *Panchatantra* and its migrations in the world literature, the *Yajurveda* by Albrecht Weber (1852, 1871) and by Leopold von Schröder (1881, 1900), the *Atharvaveda* by Rudolph Roth (1856). In the long series of scholars who later on endeavoured to translate vedic hymns and to unravel the mysteries of vedic Mythology only the names of H. Grassmann, A. Ludwig, K. Geldner, H. Oldenberg, A. Hillebrandt, and H. Lüders may here be quoted.

During the first decades of Sanskrit studies German indologists made use of English dictionaries. These being very expensive and not easily procurable the poet Rückert had copied but for his own use the whole of Wilson's dictionary. Bopp (1850) and Benfey (1865) composed German glossaries for the use of students, and Theodor Goldstücker an unfinished Sanskrit dictionary in English (1855). The first comprehensive great German dictionary of the Sanskrit language in seven volumes was compiled by Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, and published in the period 1852-1875 by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. After its completion Böhtlingk wrote another smaller but still more copious dictionary, which was also sponsored by the Russian Academy (1879-1889). In these two works Germany possesses an exhaustive thesaurus to which generations of Germans owe the best of their knowledge about Indian language and literature. In the sixty years which have elapsed since the completion of the smaller *Petersburger Wörterbuch* (abbreviated as 'p.w.', in contradistinction to the larger work generally quoted as 'P.W.') many texts have become known whose words are not yet incorporated in these dictionaries. Supplements have therefore been published by Richard Schmidt in 1924-1928. As even these supplements are not sufficient, it is to be hoped that the new exhaustive Sanskrit-English dictionary being prepared in Poona will fill up this gap. In 1887 Professor Cappeller edited, on the basis of the Petersburg dictionaries, a very useful small Sanskrit-Wörterbuch of 550 pages for the use of beginners; and an enlarged English edition of this was published some years later. It may be mentioned here that the second edition of the Sanskrit-English dictionary of Sir M. Monier-Williams, originally published in 1872, is to a large extent due also to German indologists, for the new edition of 1899 was written with the collaboration of E. Leumann and C. Cappeller.

It is impossible to enumerate here the names of all German scholars who dealt with Indian classical poetry and drama; suffice it to state that the most prominent *kāvyas* and *nātakas* can be read in German translation; some works have been translated very often, *Sakuntalā* more than ten times, *Vikramorvashīya* five times, *Mricchakatika* four times, *Dashakumāracharita* three times. Of Amaru's and Bhartrihari's stanzas there exist a great number of German renderings. That the Indian books of fables have frequently been translated into German (literally in prose, or alternatively in prose and verses, or in children's editions) requires no explanation. Panini's grammar has been translated into German by Otto Böhtlingk (1839, second edition, 1887), and the late Professor Liebich has made a special study of the classical old Grammarians. Several Indian Law Books have been translated into English by Bühler and Jolly in the *Sacred Books of the East* series; some others also exist in German translation. Of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* there is an excellent German rendering by the American-Swiss scholar Johann Jakob Meyer. Even Vatsyayana's famous *Kāmasutra* has been translated into German.

The above-mentioned late Prof. Jolly in Würzburg was both an authority on Indian Law and on Indian Medicine. He wrote standard works on both the subjects, for which reason he was awarded the Honorary Degrees of Doctor of Law and of Medicine by German Universities.

The interest in philosophy being very keen in Germany at all times there have always been many scholars working in this field. There are several translations of the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Richard Garbe wrote on *Sāṃkhya*, Max Müller, E. Roer, A. Winter and E. Hultsch on *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. The greatest achievements in this field are due to a man who was no indologist proper but a philosopher—to Paul Deussen, who from 1889 until his death in 1919 occupied the chair of Philosophy at the University of Kiel. Born in 1845 he was the son of a Protestant parson. He began by studying theology; deeply influenced by Schopenhauer's teachings he took up the study of Sanskrit and became an enthusiastic follower of Śāṅkara. His spare time as a private tutor in a Russian family he used for the study of Advaita, and he gave the first great exposition of Śāṅkara's system of Vedānta (1883). To his German renderings of the *Sūtras of Vedānta with Śāṅkara's Commentary* (1887), he presently added the translation of *Sixty Upanishads* (1897), and in collaboration with his pupil Otto Strausz, of the philosophical texts of the *Mahābhārata* (1906). Of the six volumes of history of philosophy, the first three deal with Indian philosophy, the remaining ones with the philosophy of Greece, of the Middle Ages and of Modern Times from Descartes to Schopenhauer. Among German philosophers of this time there was no one who so thoroughly understood the importance of Vedānta for the West. A similar position may be assigned to the Protestant theologian Rudolf Otto. He possessed a fair knowledge of Sanskrit and was a great admirer of Ramanuja. Besides many theological works he has published several translations of *Vaiśṇava* texts and has done much to gain for Hinduism the place in Comparative Religion which it deserves.

Besides these scholars almost exclusively interested in Sanskrit and Hindu literature there are others who, though also working in this domain, are best known by their studies of Prakrit and Pali and the two great religions whose writings are written in these languages, viz. Jainism and Buddhism. Besides Albrecht Weber, the first editor of Hala's poems, and Richard Pischel, who wrote a Prakrit Grammar, we may mention Hermann Jacobi and Ernst Leumann, who have done much in elucidating the history and dogmatics of the Jains.

Among the many workers on Pali Buddhism the first place is due to Hermann Oldenberg, the famous editor and translator of the *Vinaya* texts and author of a book on Buddha, which in its twelve German and three French editions has been for a long time the standard authority on Gautama's life and doctrine. Wilhelm Geiger translated into German a part of *Samyutta-Nikāya*, into English and Ceylonese chronicles. He supervised also the research work for the new Singhalese dictionary.

A vast amount of fresh material on the history of Buddhism and its literature has been brought to light by the Prussian expeditions to eastern Turkistan led by Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Lecoq who both have published books on Indian Art and its connection with the West. The most famous of the German scholars who deciphered the manuscripts found in Turfan was Heinrich Lüders collaborating with his wife. He succeeded in editing fragments of manuscripts of lost Buddhist texts. It is a regrettable fact that Mahayana Buddhism has till now found only a limited number of research-workers in Germany (like Professor Walleser); it has always been the chief domain of French and Belgian scholars.

The German standard work on the history of Indian literature are the three volumes of Maurice Winternitz, the late professor of Indology at the German University of Prague. The two first volumes have appeared also in English.

The interest of the largest number of German Sanskritists being philological and historical, the study of India's past, her language, culture and religion, has always been the chief aim of German indologists. This explains the fact that the modern Indian languages have not been adequately represented. Besides missionaries who translated some works from the vernaculars there were only a few men who went deeply into the literature and culture of the new Indian Aryan and Dravidian peoples. This has been the work of a few German scholars, whose death a few years ago was much lamented. I mention the former foreign minister Dr. Rosen, a good specialist in Persian, who translated Amanat's *Indarsabhā* and wrote a sketch of Urdu Literature, Dr. Reinhard Wagner, a well-merited scholar in Bengali, Professor H. W. Schomerus and Dr. Beythan, to whom we are indebted for a Tamil Grammar and a work on Shaiva Siddhanta respectively. It is to be hoped that India being now independent, the study of modern Indian languages will be fostered also in Germany, an aim which might well be realized by an exchange of professors and students between German and Indian Universities.

So far I have tried to give a brief sketch of the development of Indian studies in Germany. It stands to reason that these researches have greatly influenced other sciences. There are, I should think, chiefly three branches of knowledge to which Indology has contributed greatly by broadening the views and the outlook of the scholars.

1. The sciences of comparative linguistics and philology have only been made possible by the study of Sanskrit at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The discovery that Sanskrit words are closely related to Greek, Latin, and German words led F. Bopp and his successors to the idea that a common Indo-European language can be reconstructed and that the transformation of the words into the different languages underlies special laws.

2. Closer acquaintance with Indian literature has led scholars to the conclusion that motives of Indian fiction have wandered to the West and that some Greek fairy-tales and some Christian legends have an Indian origin. This gave the impetus for the genesis of the science of comparative literary history.

3. The researches made in the field of history of Indian creeds widened the horizon of scholars who occupied themselves with the history of ancient and modern religions. In this way Indology became the mother of comparative religion, as can be seen from the fact that Max Müller was the initiator of this science.

I shall deal now with the influence Indian thought has had upon German philosophy.

Among the prominent philosophers of Germany Immanuel Kant was the first who dealt at large with India. One will be surprised to hear this, for in Kant's philosophical writings, such as in his three famous Critiques, there is no mention of India and in his work 'Religion within the limits of bare reasoning' he only speaks in some passages of India. But Kant was not only a professor of philosophy but also a professor of geography. For forty years from 1756 to 1796, he delivered lectures on 'Physical Geography' at the University of Königsberg. In these lectures he not only spoke about the mountains and rivers, the plants and animals of the Indian subcontinent but tried also to give an idea of the character of the Indians, their customs, manners and religions. Though the knowledge

in his time was still very limited and he was entirely dependent on secondary sources such as narratives of travels, etc., with the glance of genius he was able to find out some of the salient points of Hinduism. He was especially impressed by Hindu tolerance. So he said, 'It is one of the principles of the Hindus that they believe that also the religions of other nations are good. For this reason they never compel others to embrace Hinduism. When Christian missionaries tell them about Christ and His doctrines they lend an attentive ear to them and proffer no objections. But they are astonished and do not understand that the missionaries are not equally eager to learn something of their religion.' About Hindu ethics he said that they do not contain anything noxious to man. According to his opinion, Hindu religion had a great purity in its beginnings, but later on it became intermingled with superstitious rites and notions. These were originally meant symbolically but were later on understood in a literal sense. In the whole writings of the Hindus, he says, one finds traces of a pure conception of God one may not easily meet with elsewhere. So they say that God's being is unfathomable and that it is therefore better for man to lead a godly life than to speculate dogmatically about God's nature. Kant was very much interested in the Hindu doctrine of transmigration which corresponded in some respects to his own teaching about the destiny of the soul after death. For Kant was of opinion that life is imperfect because man is not able to attain to the highest virtue. So he thinks that man has to continue his road of gradual progress in a new incarnation.

At Kant's time Europe knew very little about Indian philosophy, it is therefore natural that Kant had no idea of Shankara's doctrine of *mâyâ*. The more surprised one feels that Kant arrived independently and in his own way to a conception of the phenomenality of the empirical world which in some respects corresponds with the ideas Shankara had on the relative unreality of Time and Space.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century when philosophy most flourished in Germany, many German philosophers were greatly attracted by Indian metaphysics.

As Fichte's system has many traits in common with Vedānta, one may presume that he had read Indian works translated, but he does not mention them anywhere in his writings. Hegel has dealt with India in his 'Philosophy of History' and other works, but he was too much taken up with his own ideas to do full justice to Indian thought. But Schelling and Schopenhauer had a high opinion of Indian wisdom. Max Müller, the celebrated editor of the *Rigveda* who occupied a chair for Comparative Religion at Oxford, later on tells us in a charming article how Schelling with whom he studied philosophy asked him to translate the Upanishads for him. Still more influenced by Indian thought was Arthur Schopenhauer. He said of himself, that he owed the best of his ideas to Indian wisdom; to Plato and Kant. He therefore tried to combine European idealism with the *Mâyâ* doctrine of Vedānta and the teachings of Buddhist asceticism. He considered the Upanishads as 'the solace of his life and death' and had in his room a big statue of the Buddha, whom he called the greatest philosopher the world had ever seen before Plato and Kant. As the European knowledge of Indian metaphysics in the first half of the last century was still very limited, his attempt to combine Vedānta and Buddhism in his own system cannot meet with approval today. Though he derived important ideas from Shankara's and Gautama's teachings his own doctrine is neither Vedānta nor Buddhism but a new creation of his own. Nevertheless, no other German thinker has done so much to draw the attention of German scholars to the hidden treasures of Indian

thought. Schopenhauer had many adherents, not only among philosophers but also among poets and musicians. Richard Wagner the famous composer was so deeply impressed by the picture Schopenhauer had drawn of Buddhism, that he wrote 'Buddha's teaching is such a grand view of life, that every other one must seem rather small when compared with it. The philosopher with his deepest thoughts, the scientist with his largest results, the artist with his most extravagant fancies, the man with the most open heart for everything that breathes and suffers find their unlimited abode in this wonderful and incomparable conception of the world. How does our European world of today appear in comparison to it? Either as a wilderness or just as the first beginnings of a culture which already flourished in India in ancient times. I can keep off the vicissitudes of present-day life only by drinking at the holy fountain of the Ganges'.

Among Schopenhauer's admirers no one has done so much to unravel the history of Indian philosophy as Professor Paul Deussen about whom I have already spoken. When he visited India in 1893 he delivered many lectures on Vedānta, which as he became aware of with joy is still living in the mind and heart of every thoughtful Hindu. He called the system of the Vedānta one of the greatest achievements of the genius of mankind in his research of eternal truth. According to him Kant in Germany has given the scientific substruction of the Advaita, which the Hindus formed by intuition. 'For Kant has demonstrated that space, time and causality are not objective realities, but only subjective forms of our intellect. The unavoidable conclusion of this conception is that the world, as far it is extended in space, running on in time, ruled throughout by causality, in so far is merely a representation of my mind and nothing beyond it. Shankara has found a wonderful way to combine the pluralism of the empirical world which surrounds us with the one absolute Being which we become conscious of in meditation. According to him the world has to be explained according to two systems. One exoteric, theological for the common man who wants helping gods, a cult of images and elaborate worship and the other an esoteric, philosophical monism for the few rare in all times and countries who are able to grasp the metaphysical truth.' Deussen thinks that this doctrine of the two forms of truth is the way out of the embarrassments of theologians and deserves not only the attention but also the imitation of Christian dogmatists.

Eduard von Hartmann derives his pessimism from Schopenhauer but he tries to combine it with those doctrines of Hegel in a very queer way. Like Schopenhauer he posits also an unconscious principle as the root of the world, but it is a principle in which a dualism is inherent. There is not merely unconscious will from which all existence with its miseries has sprung, there is also an unconscious Intelligence which is striving to undo the mischief wrought by unconscious Will. At the heart of existence is a great Unconscious which as universal immanent providence unwearingly without error or hesitation fashions all phenomena and guides all issues to their predetermined end; to make the ends of the Unconscious his own is the individual's all-comprehensive duty. For the whole world's process is nothing else than the story of the passion of the Absolute which struggles to free itself.

You see how with Schopenhauer and Hartmann Indian ideas have been combined with those of German philosophy of that time. As in India the cessation of individual life is the goal that has to be reached. But the Indian idea differs in so far as the Indians never think that God or the Absolute has to seek redemption as Schopenhauer's 'Will to live' or Hartmann's 'Unconscious' because the Brahma is for ever pure.

all-knowing and released. Nor does the idea of collective salvation exist in Hinduism and Buddhism.

The most widely-read philosopher of the end of the nineteenth century, Friedrich Nietzsche, makes frequent reference to India in his writings. In his youth he had been an enthusiastic adherent of Schopenhauer and a friend of Paul Deussen. In his later years he had abandoned this and called the Vedānta 'the expression of a way of thinking most alien to him'. But in the law book of Manu he venerated an unsurpassed document of a religion which affirms life.

Among the philosophers of our century Georg Misch and Charles Jaspers have occupied themselves with Indian thought; of great importance are also the writings of the Protestant theologian Rudolf Otto and of the sociologist Max Weber which betray a deep insight into the network of Indian religious and social thinking. Oswald Spengler in his great work on the decay of the Occident refers only accidentally to Indian history, his knowledge about the forces that shaped Indian destiny are poor and the inferences he drew from them are therefore of little value.

A trait of Indian thinking which occupies more important attention from day to day are the Indian theories of meditation. German psychologists try more and more to adapt the Indian methods of absorption in thought to the European mentality, so J. H. Schultz has tried to make Yoga fit for use of psychotherapists in the form of the so-called 'autogene training'.

The best that has been said about the Indian way of interpreting the riddles of the universe has been said by Count Hermann Keyserling who showed in his much read book 'A philosopher's travel-diary' a rare insight into the depths of Indian thought.

He wrote: 'The Indians do not suffer from the superstition that metaphysical truths are able to be incorporated in one system only, they have overcome the static conception of truth and put in its place a dynamic conception. This tolerant insight which tries to transcend the narrow limits of dogmatic systems is the great achievement of Indian thinkers. This development has begun in India, hence her depths of insight and wisdom. It will be for us to follow them and to continue along this path.'

In the realm of German literature India had her place at an early date. I have already mentioned that some legends of Christian saints widely read in Germany betray Indian influences, as do also some German fairy-tales. When after the rediscovery of the sea-route to India the interest in the countries of the East was revived, some now forgotten poems and novels appeared of which India was the scene. But the great importance India has won in German literature did not begin until the beginning of the nineteenth century when Kalidasa's *Śakuntalā* and other Indian works became known by translations. The great herald of India was Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). In his famous 'Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind' he applied the genetic method to the whole of human development and gave an account of Indian civilization and religions. India was also a favourite topic in many of his essays and poetical works. The Hindus appear to him entirely in the light of high spirituality and natural goodness, he sees in them the true champions of human ideals. This picture drawn by him, all light and with almost no shadow, was authoritative for all romantic poets of the years to come. For Novalis Sanskrit is the secret symbol of antiquity, the language of a primordial people of the highest innate purity and wisdom. Friedrich August von Heyden (1789-1851) wrote several dramas whose scene is laid in India ('Magandola or the Pearl of the Ganges', 'The Mirror of Akbar');

in them he glorifies Indian tolerance. India appears also in a magic light in some of the novels of E. Th. A. Hoffmann and Jean Paul. Heine, too, speaks of the Hindus as of calm and pious men, who kneel before lotus-flowers. In the well-known story of the struggle of Vasishtha and Vishvâmitra he sees a foreboding of the struggle of the popes and the emperors that raged in the German Middle Ages.

To Goethe we owe some of the most beautiful and thoughtful poems on Indian life that have ever been written: the god and the bayadere (i.e. *devadâsî*) and the three poems on the Pariah. In these Goethe tries to demonstrate that God has shown a way to salvation, even to the lowest and most despised human beings.

In his poem 'The Brahmin' which he wrote shortly before his death, Friedrich Hebbel has given touching expression to the Indian idea, that the life of an animal has the same value as that of man. Hebbel deals with the king of the Shibus, renowned for his liberality and unselfishness. According to the legend told in the *Mahâbhârata* and some *Purânas* this prince saved a dove from a hawk by offering his own flesh.

Hindu ideas are the subjects of many poems, novels, and dramas written by German writers, like Franz Werfel's 'Der Spiegelmensch'. In this novel the poet deals with the Vedântic conception of *Mayâ*. Thomas Mann in his novel 'The Exchanged Heads' gives a brilliant interpretation of the well-known story of the *Vetâlapanchavimshatî*.

The work of many German poets was inspired by the imposing personality of Gautama Buddha. The composer Richard Wagner had intended to write an Opera on a legend of the *Divyâvadâna* in which Buddha appears, but this work was never finished. Joseph Victor Widmann, Karl Bleibtreu, Karl Gjellerup, Fritz Mauthner, Hans Much, Albrecht Schäffer, Hermann Hesse and others have been more or less successful in this endeavour.

The problems of *yoga* and meditation have been dealt with in their manifold aspects in Hermann Hesse's 'Glasperlenspiel' (The Game of the Glass-Beads) and in the phantastic stories by Gustav Meyrink.

There are also some dramas that deal with Indian history. I may mention 'Shahjahan and his Sons' by the late indologist of Vienna University, Leopold von Schroeder. A beautiful poem on the emperor Jahangir we owe to Count Maurice von Strachwitz (1822-1847).

A subject much in favour with German writers has been the problem of caste. The first of these writers was Michael Beer (1800-1833) who wrote a successful drama 'The Pariah'. The real objective of this work was to advocate the emancipation of the Jews. In his novel 'The Redemption of the Brahman' (1894) my predecessor on the chair of Indology in Königsberg and Tübingen, Richard Garbe, has tried to depict the conditions that prevailed in Benares about a hundred years ago.

I may conclude this short survey, which in no way claims to be complete, by mentioning two works which, though not of high literary value, have found many readers because of their exciting tale of adventurous events: 'Nana Sahib or the Rebellion in India' by a German, Hermann Goedsche, who wrote under the pseudonym of Sir John Retcliffe (1816-1878), was widely read by our fathers, and many German boys including myself got their first impressions of Indian princes and jugglers from Sophie Wörishöffer's novel 'Kreuz und quer durch Indien' ('Rambles in India').

In German science, in German philosophy and in German literature we meet with many traces of Indian influence. If we ask what is the reason of this fact and what is the feeling that is behind it, we may say:

the Germans have always shown great interest in India because of the deep-rooted sympathy they have always had for 'the land and people' of the Ganges. This sympathy is firmly founded on the conformity of their adherence to lofty ideas. In the words of a verse in the *Panchatantra*: *samāna-shīla-vyāsanesu sakhyān*. Friendship exists only among those who are alike in character and endeavours.

NEW DATA CONCERNING THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KÖRÖS¹

By ERVIN BAKTAY

For an introduction, it should be mentioned that 28 years ago, in January, 1929, I visited the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I had a hearty talk with Mr. Van Manen, then General Secretary of the Society, and informed him that in the previous year, that is in 1928, I undertook an expedition of my own to Western Tibet, with the purpose of collecting local data concerning the life and work of *Alexander Csoma de Körös*² in the Lamaseries of Zaskar. I made a short report of the results of my researches, and Mr. Van Manen shook my hand in an enthusiastic manner, exclaiming: 'After all, you have done what should have been done long ago!'

At that time, between 1926 and 1929, I spent more than three years in India, pursuing my special studies connected with the people, country, history, religions, philosophy, literature and art, in one word: the culture of India. In 1927, when I spent a few months in Kashmir, I once more read Theodore Duka's work on the life of A. Csoma de Körös. Being a Hungarian myself, I followed with special interest the obliterated footsteps of the lonely wanderer through Kashmir. And then I realized that the book contained hardly any details or exact data concerning the most important period of Csoma's life, the period spent among the remote mountains of Zaskar, where the heroic pioneer laid the foundation to his life work, disclosing the treasury of Tibetan language and literature, which was hidden up till that time to scientific research. There were gaps in his life story, and there were uncertainties which called for elucidation and completion.

Let us pay our tribute of unreserved esteem to the author of Csoma's first, and for a very long period unique, biography. *Theodore Duka* was Hungarian, like A. Csoma himself. As a young man he fought during the Hungarian war of independence, headed by Lewis Kossuth, against Austrian imperialism, in 1848-49; he was *aide-de-camp* to General Görgey, the Hungarian Commander-in-chief. After the Hungarians had been crushed by the overwhelming forces of the combined Austrian and Russian armies, Duka, in order to save his life, became a refugee, and eventually reached England. He finished his medical studies there, and was sent to India where he served as a surgeon from 1854 on. Soon after his arrival in India, he began collecting data in the Calcutta archives concerning Csoma, with the set purpose of writing the life story of his great

¹ Lecture delivered in the Asiatic Society on the 1st of March, 1957.

² Alexander Csoma de Körös (pronounce: *Choma de Keresh*, or more correctly *Queureuche*, reading the name according to French pronunciation) was born in 1784. He studied at the old College of Nagyenyed in Transylvania, and completed his Oriental learning at the University of Göttingen, Germany. Leaving his native country in 1819, he travelled alone and on foot through the Balkans, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Iran, Bukhara and Afghanistan, reaching India in 1822. Crossing the Panjab and Kashmir he went to Leh, and spent years in the Lamaseries of Zaskar, and later in Kanam, between 1824 and 1830. From 1830 on he mainly lived and worked in Calcutta, acting for several years as librarian of the Asiatic Society, and left in 1842 for Greater Tibet. On his way there he died in Darjeeling.

compatriot. His task was not an easy one, for Csoma, in his selfless modesty, left—except, of course, his scholarly works—only a few reports in which he hardly said anything about himself. Duka persevered in his work for two decades, and succeeded in amassing all available documents. Although he retired from active service and returned to England in 1874, he again went to Calcutta in 1883, solely with the purpose of doing some additional research work. His book on the life and works of Alexander Csoma de Körös was published in London in 1884, at the Centenary of Csoma's birth, and one year later also in Hungarian, in the author's own translation.

Duka has done a very valuable work, and his book can be regarded as a fundamental source of reference for all later biographers of Csoma. Yet, as I mentioned before, there were gaps left in his work, and these were partly due to the fact that Duka never had any opportunity to go to Western Tibet, and in his description of the most important part of Csoma's life he had to depend on the rather scanty statements of a few contemporaries, like, e.g., Dr. Gerard who, in 1829, visited Csoma at Kanam, in Himalayan Tibet, and left a long report concerning the doings of the lonely Hungarian. But what was worse—*Duka deliberately omitted certain events and facts from his book.* I will speak about these later on.

Anyhow, when I realized the gaps and uncertainties in Duka's work, I felt it as a duty to fill and clear them up by researches to be done in Zaskar itself. Next summer, in 1928, I equipped a rather modest expedition, and set out on the journey, starting from Ganderbal, near Srinagar. First of all I visited *Sir Aurel Stein*—another remarkable countryman of mine, for he was Hungarian by birth—on the way, on the top of Mohand-marg, high above the Sind valley, where he used to camp during summers whenever he could afford himself a holiday. He gave me important hints from the storehouse of his experiences, and warmly approved of my purpose. Then I continued the journey, following all along the route where the heroic wanderer passed more than a century before. Across the Zoji La Pass, in a few days I reached with my little caravan Dras where Csoma, returning from Leh, met William Moorcroft—an incident which completely changed his future life, directing it into a new channel. We know that Csoma, who travelled alone and on foot, reached Leh, the capital of Ladakh, almost penniless, and found it impossible to continue towards Central Asia which was his goal where he hoped to find traces of the Hungarians of old, who, according to traditions, migrated from somewhere there towards the West, in about the seventh or eighth century A.D. Csoma, who set out on his long journey from Transylvania, his native country, in 1819, always had extremely poor financial resources. In spite of his poverty, he was independent and proud; he never accepted any support from private persons. On his way through Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran he received some modest support from the British legations in those parts; such a help was acceptable to him, because he felt sure that one day he would be able to repay it by the results of his scholarly work and researches. He was accustomed to hardships and privations. Therefore we may realize that the obstacles must have been insurmountable, if he decided to turn back from Leh. Duka does not give further reasons for this decision. But we may surmise that Csoma intended to return to India, hoping to receive some further support from the English, enabling him to continue his voyage. Knowing his personal character, we may be certain that he never intended to give up his purpose. He must have reached Dras in a miserably depressed state of mind, the consciousness of his poverty and helplessness weighing down heavily on him. Moorcroft was surprised to

recognize a trained scholar and linguist under the neglected appearance and disguise of the stranger who walked his way wearing some sort of Armenian costume. He made an offer to him, being an agent of the British Indian Government, persuading Csoma to go to Western Tibet, and to take up the study of Tibetan. The British in India at that time badly needed a Tibetan grammar and dictionary, no Western scholar having yet ventured to undertake that difficult task. The salary offered was very modest indeed: 50 rupees a month—any petty officer of the British Army received more than that in India. It was not the financial support which induced Csoma to accept the offer. He never did care for money. But he saw that the task was honourable, and it also interested him as a scholar—he was a pioneer of the pure water, and it aroused his ambition to solve a problem which hitherto was not touched by anybody else. Besides he hoped to find in the Tibetan language some elements related to those in the Hungarian, and thought that the work would help him along in his own set purpose. However, his acute sense of honour compelled him to consecrate all his powers to the task, after having accepted it. He went down to Kashmir with Moorcroft, and returned to Ladakh next spring. With the support of the Kaloon of the Ladakhi court, who was well acquainted with Moorcroft, Csoma was permitted to take up his abode in *Zangla Gompa* (Lamasery), in Zaskar, and obtained the help of Lama Sange Puntsog, a learned monk, versed in Tibetan literature. From the small sum of 50 rupees Csoma paid 20 a month to his tutor, paid for his accommodation and food at the Lamasery, and purchased quite an amount of Tibetan books and manuscripts. He lived in such a modest way, as to arouse the admiration even of the Lamas and the people of Zangla. Dr. Gerard, when visiting Csoma later at Kanam, must have heard about these things, for he stated that the Hungarian scholar, during his sojourn in Zangla, 'suffered privations such as have seldom been endured . . .'. This is all we find in Duka's description concerning Csoma's life in Zangla, during 1824-25. We know that he spent the long and bitterly cold winter without a fire, but there was little explanation given for it.

When I reached Zangla, I proceeded to collect all available data concerning 'Skander Beg'—for this was how Csoma called himself in Asia. I was surprised to find that the Lama living as a guardian in the old Zangla Gompa knew that 'Skander Beg', or the *Philangi Dasa*, 'the pupil from the West', as he was known there, spent one year and a half in the Lamasery, and that he lived in the same small cell occupied now by himself, the Lama. I could state that the memory of the heroic pioneer was still alive. I had a talk about him with *Sonam Tondup Namgyal*, the titular Raja of Zangla, an intelligent young man who fluently spoke Hindusthani, so that there was no need of an interpreter. He mentioned that there was a very old man in the village below the Lamasery, *Tsan Raptan* by name, who was known to relate stories concerning 'Skander Beg' to the people, telling them that he heard the same stories from his grandfather and his uncle. At my request, the old man was brought to my tent, and the Namgyal, who seemed to take a lively interest in the matter, offered to serve as an interpreter himself. *Tsan Raptan* was brought in the literal sense of the word, for he was lamed and blinded by age, yet mentally still quite alert. His speech was slow and intelligent, as he related what he knew about 'the stranger who, a very long time ago, came from a far country in the West, in order to become a disciple of Lord Buddha' and who used to live in the little cell in the Monastery, pointed out before by the guardian Lama too. I gave his words in an abridged summary, according to the translation of *Sonam Tondup Namgyal*:

Tsan Raptan heard that more than a hundred years ago, in the time of Tonyot Namgyal (the great-grandfather of Sonam Tondup), when Sange Puntsog, a learned man, was chief Lama in the Zangla Gumpa, Skander Beg lived and studied there. Tsan Raptan's grandfather had known Skander Beg personally. Tsan Raptan was shown by his grandfather and his father the small room in which Skander Beg used to dwell. This room is also known to many villagers. He heard that Skander Beg spent most of his time sitting and reading at the window of the small room, and permitted ~~to~~ fire to be kindled in it even during the most severe winter months. Skander Beg did not want to have a fire there, because the smoke caused pain to his eyes which he wished to protect with regard to his reading.' The old man related further, that 'Skander Beg wore simple Tibetan dress, and the food was given to him by the Lamas. *Kunga Choslegs*, a very learned Lama, from Dzongkul Gumpa, came sometimes to see Skander Beg, and had long talks with him, etc. etc.'

This statement, put down by me, had been read in Urdu to Sonam Tondup Namgyal and my interpreter, the Thekidar Abdur Rahman who was also present, and its being true to the words of Tsan Raptan was certified by their signatures. At my question, old Tsan Raptan stated that until then no European has ever come to Zangla in order to find out facts concerning Skander Beg, and that I was the first foreigner to whom he ever related the stories mentioned above.

The description offered by the old Tibetan was very valuable. It gave a sound explanation for the otherwise incomprehensible attitude of Csoma, refusing to have fire in the little stone cell which must have been terribly cold during the eight months' long and very severe winter of Zanskar, the Roof of the World. It should be remarked that in Western Tibet the buildings have no chimneys and the people build little fires on the stone floor, the smoke filling the localities, before it could escape through gaps in the wooden roofs. The old man added that Skander Beg hid his benumbed hands under his armpits, protecting them against freezing by the warmth of his own body, and put them out only when he had to turn a page in his book, or to make some notes. Now we can understand the full portent of Dr. Gerard's words, that at Zangla Csoma 'suffered privations such as have seldom been endured . . .'

I was touched and filled with a feeling of admiration, or even veneration, for the lonely Hungarian, as I imagined to see his haggard figure sitting on the bed below the small window, working 'while the light lasted'. Suffering from the bitter cold, in such a situation, he, according to Dr. Gerard, collected 40,000 Tibetan words for his dictionary.

The cell was so small and dark that I could not take a photo of it. So I sat down on the sill and made a sketchy drawing. Above the door, on its outer side, I cut a few words with my knife: 'Csoma's Room'. Some visitors or explorers may come in the future to the place—let them be reminded of the heroic pioneer whose life breath filled the small cell, now nearly one and a half centuries ago . . . With the same purpose I placed two stone slabs at the entrance of the Lamasery, with short inscriptions in English and Hungarian, giving the dates of Csoma's stay at the Gumpa in 1824-25. I painted the capital letters with ink on the rough surface, and the young Namgyal supplied two masons who cut the text in the stone.

I realized with satisfaction that it has been worth while to have come the long way to Zanskar. The details I learnt filled with intense life the few data we knew up to that day from Csoma's sojourn at Zangla. And there was a new information won: the old man mentioned the name of *Kunga Choslegs* as one of Csoma's visitors and friends. This circumstance

also helped to explain why the memory of the strange wanderer remained alive throughout such a long time at Zangla. Kunga Choslegs—as I found out later from a work of *Saratchandra Das*, the eminent Indian Tibetologist—was not only a very learned Lama, but he was regarded as a *Lhotsava*, that is an incarnation of one of the first great Tibetan translators of the sacred Sanskrit texts of Buddhism. His unfading memory has been linked up with that of Csoma, his pupil.

• I do not want to enter into a detailed account of my researches in Western Tibet, for then my lecture would be too long. I may mention only that at *Phuktal Gompa* I also succeeded in obtaining important informations. An old man from Char village, and *Tsetan Dorje*, the oldest inhabitant of Yugar village, situated opposite of Phuktal, who was brought to me by *Yeshe Namgyal*, titular Raja of Padam, gave me many details concerning Csoma. The latter mentioned that he heard the stories from his father and grandfather. Csoma's reports from Phuktal, as published by Duka, sound rather uncertain; one has the impression that it was painful to him to disclose the real situation facing him there. We know that during Csoma's second sojourn in Zanskar, his teacher, Lama Sange Puntsog, behaved in a very incomprehensible manner; he did not support Csoma's endeavours, and even absented himself for a long period, going 'on a pilgrimage'. I found out later by different sources that at that time Csoma was regarded with suspicion on part of the Ladakhi court and the Lamas—they began to take him for a British spy, and Sange Puntsog had been summoned to report on him to the Dalai Lama. The old man from Yugar village also referred to the fact that Skander Beg did not spend much time at Phuktal Gompa, and that he was staying mostly at Tetha, the native village of his Lama teacher; yet he pointed out the site of the hut, demolished long ago by an earthquake, in which Csoma used to live, together with Sange Puntsog, during his short stay at the Gompa; Tsetan Dorje said that the brother of his father still saw the hut and it was he who had shown the site to him when he was still a young boy.

Weeks before I reached Phuktal, the hardships of the trail began to tell on my exhausted body and mind. I fell severely ill. Although there were no medical help or medicines available, I did not want to turn back. I felt ashamed to give up my purpose, connected with Csoma who had undergone incomparably more hardships in his time and never cared for himself. So I went on, but by the time I was drawing near to Phuktal, I have actually become but a mere shadow of my former self; I was hardly able to eat anything, and the continuous fever made me feel miserably weak. It was advisable to make haste and to return to India where medical help was to be had. Therefore I returned to Kashmir, and went from there to Simla, without carrying out my original plan, that of going also to Kanam in Himalayan Tibet. Yet, I thought, it was less important to collect local data there, for Dr. Gerard visited Csoma at Kanam in 1829 and gave a lengthy and very detailed account of the Hungarian's life and work there.

I returned to Hungary in June, 1929, and after having restored my health, set out to arrange and to elaborate the material collected. In 1930 a book describing my journey to Western Tibet was written and published in Hungarian, containing the new data concerning Csoma. The following years were spent in writing and publishing other works, all of them on subjects connected with India and Indian culture. But I did not regard my task in connection with Csoma fulfilled. I was preparing to write a new life of Alexander Csoma de Körös, based on the new researches

and my personal acquaintance with the countries in India and Western Tibet where the Hungarian traveller passed through on his long way.

Though I succeeded to clear up some circumstances, yet there still were gaps and uncertainties left by Duka. There was first of all the chapter dealing with the events which happened during 1826. This period had been treated with laconic shortness, and the story remained utterly obscure. It was difficult, nay, impossible, to understand why Csoma has been treated by the Calcutta Government and even by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as if there were something wrong with his work, or as if they intended to get rid of him. We knew from Duka so much that Csoma, after having returned from Phuktal to Sabathu, was left alone, the payment of his modest salary had been stopped, and his letters were left unanswered. Duka published these letters, and also those which were written by Government officials or by members of the Society to each other, but the obscurity was not elucidated by any comments on part of the author. What we feel reading that part of Duka's book is a hopeless chaos, and we fail to comprehend the reasons which brought about such a chaotic situation. Not knowing the background, we feel touched by the almost pathetic tone of Csoma's letters to the Government, by his words in which a deeply hurt soul was crying out for justice—the only letters in which he ever spoke of himself and his feelings—but we are confronted with a mystery and try to find some clue in vain. There is some mention made about the so-called 'Serampore Dictionary' and vague discussions connected with it, yet we are groping around in utter darkness. One obtains the impression that something has been concealed, hushed up here by the author . . .

The Centenary of Csoma's death, 1942, was drawing near, and I was working on his new biography, still feeling helpless with regard to the obscurity mentioned above. Theodore Duka, who was a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, but lived in England till his death in 1900, made a present of all literary material, compiled and collected by him during the years he prepared his work on the Life and Works of Alexander Csoma, to the Academy. The Asiatic Society of Bengal also presented original manuscripts of Csoma to the same Hungarian institute. All these were kept there, in a separate case. It was only natural that I very carefully went through that material, when working on my new biography of Csoma. And then, nearly 56 years after the collection had been presented by Duka, I discovered some papers among the material which at once dispelled the long felt obscurity, and filled up the gap left by Duka.

How was it possible that those important documents were left unobserved for such a long period?—I put the question to myself. Another book on Csoma's life had been written and published in 1941, by a Hungarian University Professor, and I was told at the Academy Library that he has gone through the material presented by Duka. The work of the Professor turned out a rather commonplace piece of literary ambition, furnishing no new points of view, as it simply repeated the facts given by Duka, diluting the items by verbal prolixity, and not even attempting to solve problems which remained entirely hidden to the author. The professor probably never looked for anything else, but for the documents already made use of by Duka himself; he seemed to have found it too wearisome a toil to dive into the mass of material.

This neglect gave me the opportunity to find the answer to the problems left unsolved up to that time. The document I found was authoritative and absolutely reliable. It had been written and published in India, by an English author, who was well acquainted with the matter.

I wondered how it could be left neglected for such a long time. It seemed to me that nobody ever took the trouble of making a regular study of the material collected by Duka. And I found out that Duka *did not want to* avail himself of the document mentioned; he omitted its contents *on purpose*, having his own reasons for doing so. The case began to intrigue me very much indeed, and I did not relent until it has been cleared up for good.

Here are the facts, based on aforementioned document: the British Government of India, and some of the learned members of the Society, committed a grave mistake which might even be called a blunder, in 1826. The Government's behaviour towards Csoma was simply shameful and mean. During Csoma's absence from India, when he was staying in Zaskar for the second time, a manuscript has been found among the literary legacy of an Italian missionary who died in or near Calcutta. The manuscript contained a sketchy Tibetan grammar and a dictionary. As at that time there was no one in Calcutta who possessed a sufficient knowledge of the subject, the Government thought that they had what they were looking for, and the manuscript was printed in Serampore in a hurry, under the supervision of Schroeder, a German missionary. At the same time it was the official opinion that, as after all a Tibetan dictionary was now available, there was no need whatever of the work being done by Csoma. Some economical genius might have pointed out that the salary paid to the unknown foreigner was but a waste of money, and it was stopped accordingly. Nobody cared for the poor Hungarian who returned from Zaskar to Sabathu with a heavy heart on account of his second journey having proved fruitless. He was left in a not only awkward, but in a humiliating and insulting situation. His sense of honour has been badly hurt. His unselfish struggles and his sufferings were accounted for as nothing. Who knows what would have been the end of the forsaken, lonely Hungarian who felt a despair like the which no privation or hardship could ever wring out of his soul. Fortunately, there have been experts in the learned world who were in the position to judge whether the 'Serampore Dictionary' was deserving the pride of their editors. The book has been sent to universities, academies and other scientific institutions in Europe. The British Government of India took immense pride in what they believed to be a scholarly achievement of exceptional importance. But Professor *Klaproth*, the eminent German linguist who was lecturing at that time on the Sorbonne University in Paris, soon turned that conceit into utter shame, pointing out and very sharply criticizing the shortcomings and primitive mistakes of the Serampore Dictionary. The 'great achievement' became the laughing-stock of the learned world, and the Calcutta Government had to pocket a most humiliating reprimand from London.

Now, Theodore Duka spent a lifetime in British service, he has become a British citizen, married an English lady, and felt that he, the homeless refugee, owed everything he ever achieved to the British. He was taken aback by the idea of publishing facts which were apt to throw a very bad light on the British Government of India. He tried to hush up the dubious events, and at the same time tried to render justice to both parties. His attitude was undoubtedly correct from a gentlemanly point of view—but still, it was a mistake, for a biographer who is a kind of historian, should never refrain from telling the truth, and the entire truth at that.

It was characteristic of the really fair spirit of many an Englishman that what was left unsaid by Duka, did not remain hidden for long. It was a prominent English historian, *Sir William Wilson Hunter*, who, reading Duka's 'Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös', felt it his duty to

make up for the deficiency in that book, by publishing in the Indian paper 'The Pioneer Mail', in October, 1885, a series of articles and furnishing a detailed account of the facts concerning Csoma and the British Government of India. He wrote in the introduction:—'We purpose very briefly to sketch the life of noble self-devotion which Dr. Duka has so tenderly portrayed, *to throw sidelights on certain episodes which he left obscure*,¹ and to indicate Csoma's true position in Tibetan scholarship'.—Hunter has given a correct report of what really happened, furnishing details concerning the Serampore Dictionary, the behaviour of the Calcutta Government, the utter neglect of Csoma's person, his miserable situation, etc., as I have related these above. He, the Englishman, did not feel obliged to conceal the blunders of the British Government of India, and he unveiled the short-sighted conceit of the official persons involved in the affair. Giving a vivid picture of the effects of the ridiculous scandal, he pictured the situation when Governor-General Lord Amherst visited Simla and his attention was directed by Major Kennedy—one of Csoma's sincere friends—to the discarded Hungarian who was staying there with him: 'Amherst had to decide whether he would pay for the cost of doing the work again'.—'European scholars . . . Klaproth in particular had put forth his great authority, to cast contempt on the endeavours of the English in India to study Tibetan. To send forth Csoma again was, therefore, not only to incur the expense of doing work twice over in India, but also to run the risk of double share of ridicule in Europe. Amherst realized, however, that *there was a man capable of doing a great work for the British nation*'.—After six months of waiting in suspense and humiliation, Csoma was asked to take up his work again. He had his satisfaction, according to the official opinion. He was selfless enough not to keep grudge, and repaid the ungrateful attitude by going back to his Himalayan solitude, this time to Kanam, where in three more years he completed his life work, the first scientific Tibetan Grammar and Tibetan-English Dictionary, published later under his supervision, in 1834, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Hunter's sketchy biography contains an amount of substantial facts, contemporary events, outlines of the historical and political background, etc., all of which are essentially important if we want to see Csoma's life and work in an adequate light. I felt more than content to have found that valuable document, for by it the 'missing link' was in hand, and the gaps were filled up. In the new biography of Alexander Csoma de Körös I endeavoured to give a full account of that life of lonely grandeur and almost unbelievable unselfishness. The book was published in 1942, in the year of the Centenary of Csoma's death. It was during the war, and conditions after the war were such as to make it impossible to think of a translation or a publication of my work in a foreign language, more easily approachable than the Hungarian. This is the reason why the results of the new researches concerning Csoma had to remain unknown outside of Hungary.

And this was also the reason why I intended to give here a sketchy report of the portent of my humble work. Here, in this historical building, where the visitor is faced by the bust and the emaciated features of Alexander Csoma de Körös, I feel that his spirit is still dwelling near that room where he used to live and work on his Tibetan Grammar and Dictionary, 'his best and real monument', as it is written in his epitaph on the memorial stone erected by the Society over his earthly remains in the old cemetery of Darjeeling.

¹ Italics in the quotations are mine.—E. Baktay.

Let us conjure up his spirit once more. He was one of the greatest among those who served the cause of learning and knowledge. He gave all, even his life, asking for no reward whatever, in order to serve that cause. There is another memorial slab on his tombstone, with a Hungarian inscription on it. The inscription contains some words quoted from the speech delivered by Count Stephen Széchenyi, the founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, when the sad tidings of Csoma's death reached Hungary in 1842. Let me repeat a short part of it, because the words of Széchenyi, who was called the Greatest of all Hungarians by his fellow countrymen, characterize our hero better than any long eulogy: 'A poor, lonely Hungarian, without money and applause, but carried on by unflinching enthusiasm, Alexander Csoma de Körös went out searching for the cradle of his nation, and collapsed at the end of his way under the burden of his labours—he is resting in eternal sleep far away from his native soil, but he is living on in the memory of his fellow countrymen.'

We may add, I hope, that he is still living on, not only in the remembrance of his compatriots, but as well in the memory of all those who are conscious of the merit of the work achieved by Alexander Csoma de Körös, the lonely wanderer and self-sacrificing pioneer.

CONCEPTION OF SPACE (DIK) IN THE VĀKYAPADYĀ

By SATYA VRAT

• Bhartṛhari holds space to be a Power* or a Force (Śakti) along with time.¹ By Śakti he means something dependent, i.e. something which abides in its substratum and has no existence independently of it. Space cannot be a substance, as held by the Vaiśeṣika, for it is a Śakti which is to be inferred from its effect of helping things hold together. Such a Śakti cannot be expressed by a single word or phrase and has to be defined. The required definition of space, Bhartṛhari gives us in Kārikās 2 and 3 of the Dik Samuddeśa.² Dik is a Śakti which is the cause of differentiation (vyatireka) between a limit and an object sought to be limited by it, which again is the cause of the notion of straightness without reference to any other thing and which presents the lower species of motions such as rotatory, horizontal, etc. This Śakti, though one, is diversified by its limiting adjuncts. As explained by Helārāja, the relation between two things, one being prior and another posterior to it, is an adventitious quality produced in them, which certainly is no part of their nature; for that is incapable of producing it; it must, therefore, have another cause, and that cause is Dik (space). If it be urged that this (new) relation may be the effect of a universal, etc., we say no, for we are not conscious of our notion of it being coloured by a universal, etc. By the process of elimination, therefore, it is Dik that is the cause of it and nothing else. Hence the Vaiśeṣikas say: 'The characteristic of Dik is that it is from or on account of it that there arises the fact that this thing is here or there from this other thing.'³ Since Dik is knowable only by inference and is understood as a qualification of things, it cannot be an independent substance. Dik is not perceptible like substances such as earth. Though Dik is one, yet by virtue of its limiting adjuncts, it appears as many and is spoken of as ten. It is the conjunction of the sun with a particular part of the horizon that is the cause of our notion of the east, the west, etc.

Now if an accessory cause such as conjunction with the sun is to be accepted to explain our notion of the east or west, etc., why not dispense with Dik altogether, asks the objector? The reply is that the conjunction is not by itself either prior or posterior, which relation is admittedly a product of Dik. Nor can it be advanced that time can be that effective cause in place of Dik; for it is also equally the cause of the notion of the relation of mutual priority and posteriority. Because, these notions produced by time and space belong to two different spheres, this necessitates the assumption of these two distinct entities. The relation of priority and posteriority between finite bodies (corporeal things) is caused by space and that between the parts of an action, or between two actions having two different substrata, in the form of succession, is time.

¹ Dik sādhanam kriyā kāla iti yastvabhidhāyinaḥ /

• Śaktirūpe padārthānamātyanta manavasthitāḥ // III. 6. 1.

² Vyatirekasya yo hēturavadhipratipādayaḥ /

Rjvityeva yato' nyena vinā buddhiḥ pravartate //

• Karmaṇo jātibhedānām abhivyaktir yadāśrayā /

Sā svair upādhibhir bhinnā śaktir dig iti kathyate // III. 6. 2-3.

³ Itā idam iti yatas taddiśo liṅgam-vai. su. II. 2. 10.

by time. This is set forth in Kārikā (III. 6. 4).¹ As explained by Helārāja, our notions of prior and posterior in respect of finite things arise from their conjunction with a place which is prior or posterior, but a place owes this priority or posteriority to space (Dik).

Not only that. Dik (space) is also the cause of the hypothetical relation of priority and posteriority between infinite things on the one hand, and finite things on the other. Hence there is no escape from it. Now ākāśa is one, but this one ākāśa comes to be differentiated by objects in association with it. Thus conditioned, it has various conjunctions and disjunctions with the parts of finite substances. It is space itself qualified as prior or posterior, east or west that functions to relate the assumed parts of the ākāśa. Thus a group of stars conjoined with prior ākāśa is termed prior, and another conjoined with posterior ākāśa is termed posterior. All this is beautifully expressed in Kārikā III. 6. 5.²

Now an objector makes an attempt. He urges that the assumption that space possesses pūrvatva and paratva as parts of its nature involves the fault technically called *anavasthā* and asks if space can have such parts as intrinsic or integral to it. He also asks—what is wrong with the places that they are incapable of having such parts? This is answered in Kārikā III. 6. 6.³ That a place is a container or a receptacle is its own nature, it is not dependent upon the power of something else; but priority or posteriority is no part of its nature. When a place comes to have this adventitious quality, it must be due to a cause outside it and that cause is space. But in the case of space, priority or posteriority is not dependent upon anything else, it is a part of its nature. And space, being infinite, cannot assume the character of a receptacle in addition to its quality *pūrvāparatva*, for which it would require a cause. But space must be a principle such as is inferable from its effect, priority or posteriority, viz. it must be of the nature of priority and posteriority. This is cryptically put down in the first half of the Kārikā 'Dīśo vyavasthā deśānām digvyavasthā na vidyate'. Every thing has its own unique nature; hence space cannot be both a receptacle and have the nature of priority and posteriority. Things come to have varied or complex nature only under the influence of other things in relation with them. And, if a substance were assumed to possess a variety of Śaktis, it would work independently of accessory causes and might produce all sorts of effects.

Bhartrihari once again emphasizes that Dik is a Power (Śakti) and that priority and posteriority form its very nature. It is the condition of the priority and posteriority in places; but priority and posteriority are its own inherent qualities which are not due to any other external object.

¹ Parāparatve mūrtānām deśabhedanibandhane /
Tata eva prakalpyete kramarūpe tu kālataḥ //

It may be noted that the Text of the Vākya-paṭīya and of the Helārājīya (the Commentary thereon) is generally corrupt but at places so horribly spoilt by the unintelligent scribe that it is a challenge to the most learned among scholars. Even the most ingenious fail to hit upon the correct reading. The confusion is indeed baffling. In the above Kārikā, we have changed the original reading 'Kramarūpe na kalpataḥ' to Kramarūpe tu Kālataḥ, for that alone makes sense, and has, besides, the support of Helārāja who remarks: Pūrvamabhūd bhaviṣyati paramiti tu kriyāpaurvāparyam kālāsakṛtkṛta pratibandhābhyānujñāvasād vyavastīṣṭhata iti.

² Ākāśasya pradeśena bhāgaicānyaiḥ prthak prthak /
Sā samyogavibhāgānām upādhitvāya kalpate //

³ Dīśo vyavasthā deśānām digvyavasthā na vidyate /
Śaktayaḥ khalu bhāvānām upakāraprabhāvitāḥ //

The Dik which gives the notion of priority is prior. If it were otherwise, Dik would be an empty name, not signifying any real thing.¹

To Bhartṛhari, as to the Vaiśeṣika, Dik is *vibhu*, all-pervading; for it operates everywhere: the quality of priority or posteriority is produced by it in all things without exception. This is what is meant by *vibhutva*, all-pervasiveness, declares Bhartṛhari.²

How do we know that space exists?

The definition of space (Dik) given above implies that we derive our knowledge of it from inference. Now what is the basis of this inference? In other words, what constitutes the logical ground (*līngā*) for this inference? A summit of a mountain is aglow with sunshine, while another is covered by thick shade. This division of the mountain into parts, characterized by sunshine and shade, would not be possible, if there were no space. For in the absence of space, there would be no prior or posterior limit which alone is the cause of the notion of the plurality of parts. The division into parts (to have been due to relation with Dik) is surely the evidence of the existence of Dik.³

It might perhaps be urged that so far as corporeal bodies are concerned there is little necessity of postulating an independent entity like Dik to account for the notion of the diversity of parts, because that diversity can become the object of our consciousness by virtue of the conjunction of those bodies, say, with shade, sunshine, etc. To this we reply 'No'. It is wrongly assumed here that corporeal bodies are directly in conjunction with shade or sunshine. The fact is that it is their component parts that are directly conjoined with sunshine or shade. For instance, the rays of the sun that fall on one side of a jar are in contact only with the potsherds of that particular side; and on the other side, the potsherds alone are in conjunction with the shade. This means that the jar is neither in conjunction with the shade nor with the sunshine. If, however, it be said that the whole, the substance, having the same locus with, and thus present in, the parts is in contact with the shade, etc., we point out that, in that event the whole, being in contact with the shade, etc., will cease to have the same locus with its parts—a contingency highly undesirable. Moreover, it is an indirect admission that it is parts only that are directly in conjunction with the shade, etc. Hence Dik has to be assumed to account for the notions of priority, posteriority, lowness, highness, etc., in all corporeal things.

There is also another logical necessity for the assumption of Dik. All produced things are ultimately the product of atoms. The atoms are believed to be without parts. Production of various things means combination of atoms. But how do they combine and how does the minimal gross magnitude (visible to the naked eye) arise from the combination of atoms which are the limits of minuteness? As a rule a magnitude is capable of giving rise only to a superior magnitude of the same order. Thus the gross magnitude of two bodies is invariably found to be the cause of a grosser magnitude in the body which they produce by their combination. Hence the magnitude of a dyad (*dvyanuka*) should be minuter than that of either of the constituent atoms. The Vaiśeṣika, however, denies causal efficiency to atomic magnitude and hence rules out a minuter

¹ Pratyastarūpā bhāveṣu dik pārvetyabhidhiyate /
Pūrvabuddhir yatō dik sāmākhya-mātramanyathā // III. 6. 7.

² Sarvatra tasya kāryasya darśanād vibhūriyate /
Vibhūtvametad evahur anyāḥ kāryavatām vidhiḥ // III. 6. 17.

³ Chāyābhābhyaṁ nagādīnām bhāgabhedah prakalpatē /
Ātaddharmasvabhāveṣu bhāgabhedo na kalpatē // III. 6. 12.

magnitude resulting in the effect. Bhartṛhari has his own answer. He affirms that atoms, though themselves without parts, come to have four sides and the lower and upper surfaces by virtue of association with Dik (space). Thus when six atoms combine, they have each a side for conjunction. This explains the resultant gross magnitude. Yet, however, unless Dik is assumed, it would not be possible to account for the development of a gross magnitude from the atomic magnitude of the constituents. Dik has, therefore, to be assumed as the very first cause of the ascription of parts to the primary material cause of production, viz. the atoms.¹

The necessity of the assumption of *dik* has been challenged on yet another ground. It is urged that things emerge (come into existence) possessed of a particular structural arrangement of parts, how then does Dik help to give them a form? To this Bhartṛhari gives a reply in Kārikā III. 6. 14.² Says he: Things are in their nature devoid of locus (*deśa*), parts (*bhāga*), succession (*krama*) and the colouring by conditions (*upāśraya*); it is only on account of their association with other things that they vary. Infinite things such as *ākāśa* have no locus (or locality), for they are all-pervading. Similarly with finite things, for how could such an external thing as a place or room form part of their nature? Both these categories of things are only assumed to be in conjunction with places or to inhere in them. Things are in their nature devoid of parts which are distinct from them, and which are assumed to be related to them. And if things have no real parts, they are free from succession, for that is grounded on difference. Again, in their own nature, they are not subject to the colouring by limiting adjuncts. But it is association with other things that seems to change their nature, which really remains unaffected. Thus of a number of things lying in the same direction, say, the west, one particular thing may be positionally lower. Now this notion is entirely due to *dik*. Again, the parts of a whole stand undistinguished on account of the quality of inherence. But we have a notion of its parts. This notion, too, is produced by *dik*.

If, indeed, things are really without parts, how is it that an object like a jar presents itself to us as a whole apparently made up of parts and possessing sensible magnitude? To this Bhartṛhari's reply is that, as a matter of fact, the whole being quite distinct from its component parts a jar as well as an atom is devoid of parts. It is under the influence of the power called *dik* that the component parts develop positional relation of priority and posteriority and become non-distinguishable from the whole by virtue of the quality of inherence. If a whole were in its very nature possessed of parts, it would not be one, but many. And we are here not concerned with secondary divisibility, for that could well be predicated even of an atom. As for magnitude itself, which is minute in the case of an atom and gross (sensible) in the case of a jar, it is also different from the thing produced. Dimension is a specific Force which is the cause of our notions of the gross and atomic magnitudes. Hence what differentiates a jar from an atom is the difference in dimension.³

Again, if wholes are really different from their component parts, and if a qualification supplied by a limiting adjunct is no inherent part of their

¹ Paramāṇor abhāgasya diśā bhāgo viśhīyate /
Bhāgaprakalpanāśaktiṃ prathamam tāṃ pracakṣate // c. III. 6. 13.

² Adeśāścāpyabhāgāśca niṣkramā nirupāśrayā /
Bhāvāḥ saṃsargirūpātū śaktibhedah prakalpate //

³ Nirbhāgātmakatā tulyā paramāṇor ghaṭasya ca /
Bhāgāḥ śaktyantaram tatra parimāṇam ca yattayoḥ // III. 6. 15.

nature, all things would become undefinable and indistinguishable. They would, like Brahman, be internally non-differentiable (*svagatabhedaśūnya*). To this Bhartṛhari says: we agree. This is the real nature of things. All this difference is apparent, it is empirical, a product of *avidyā*. It has become, as it were, a part of the nature of things and cannot be denied. Yet it cannot be maintained that it is real. As already observed, the wholes are different from their parts. But the parts must be different from their parts, and these other again from their parts, so on and so forth, till we come to the atom. To the atom too, space imparts parts or sides, too, is differentiated by conjunction with the sun. The conjunctions of the sun are also differentiated by the different parts of the Meru mountain; and these parts by their own, and these again by their parts, till we come back to space. This difference is like a movement in a circle, and stops nowhere. There is *anavasthā*. All this difference therefore lacks proof and must be held to be apparent only. Not only are things not differentiated in themselves, but they are not differentiated even by the limiting adjuncts, for they must themselves be differentiated by other limiting adjuncts, and those others by still others, and so on and so forth, the differentiation stopping nowhere. The limiting adjuncts, too, therefore are quite incapable of differentiating the nature of things.¹

Now Bhartṛhari declares emphatically that he would be a bold man indeed who would deny the empirical existence of both time and space. All our experience is determined by priority or posteriority. The notion of priority and posteriority has become so inextricably woven with our consciousness of things that it has become vital to our very being. We are as much convinced that time and space exist as our own consciousness (Intelligence) which is no other than the self; and the self is recognized by all controversialists. Since both time and space are objects of experience, there is little sense in discarding them.²

And if time and space are discarded, what will be there to regulate our conduct, secular and religious? Shastric injunctions, with a seen or unseen purpose, such as 'one should face the east when dining', 'one should perform the śrāddha ceremony in the afternoon', could not be faithfully carried out in the absence of both time and space. For, in their absence, there would be nothing to cause the notion of priority and posteriority in things and actions. Although this world is devoid of succession, there being nothing prior or posterior positionally or chronologically, yet the enlightened person to whom the falsity of this world of phenomena has become manifest, accepts this world and while he rejects time and space on the basis of reason, does accept them both in practice; for there is no escape from the notion of priority and posteriority generated by them.³

THE ADVAITIN'S VIEW

As is usual with Bhartṛhari, he concludes his treatise on space with the statement of the Advaitin's view of it. According to this view, Dik (space) does not exist externally. It is the externalization of the Inner

¹ Yataḥ prakalpyate bhedo' bhēdastatāpi drśyate /
Adṛṣṭoparatim bhēdamato' yuktataram viduḥ // III. 6. 16.

² Caitanyavat sthitā loke dikkāparikalpanā /
Prakṛtīm prāṇinām tām hi ko'nyathā sthāpayiṣyati // III. 6. 18.

³ Saṅkaro vyavahārāṇām prakṛteh syādviparyaya /
Tasmāt tyajannimān bhāvān punar evāvalambate // III. 6. 19.

Consciousness under the influence of Avidyā without a beginning) an outward manifestation of that one Principle in various forms which have no real existence.¹ Bhartṛhari repeats the idea when he says: The heaven, the earth, the wind, the sun, the oceans, the rivers and the quarters are all parts of the internal organ, which have manifested them in so many external forms.² This Appearance is, therefore, independent of any real external existence. Priority and posteriority too are the product of Nescience. Things are said to be internal and external; but as a matter of fact, there is no such difference. The so-called difference does not go beyond words, it does not touch the nature of things.

Proceeding further, Bhartṛhari discusses the question whether space is one or many. He says that neither assumption brings us any the nearer to the truth. The assumption that space is fundamentally one, being only diversified by the various limiting conditions, is as false as the one that space is primarily many as inferred from its effects. Anyway human activity goes on unhampered. Things are not in their essence as they are represented to us by various thinkers; surely they could not have the conflicting characteristics attributed to them by the different schools of thought. Their true nature transcends the various views held of them.³

Now Bhartṛhari argues why oneness or manyness cannot be true of space, and, for the matter of that, of any thing. There is the dictum that of two interdependent things, if the one cannot be proved, the other too becomes automatically unproved; hence the oneness or manyness of space is incapable of proof. We in this world go by our experience, take things as they appear to us. In the ultimate analysis, even such contraries as difference and non-difference do not exist. The one without a second is the only truth. Moreover, space has been defined here as a power, which is the condition of other things. And a power cannot be said to be one or many.⁴ Manyness is doubtless predicable of things possessed of power; but a power cannot be differentiated, dependent as it is on a substratum, even when they, the substrata, are many. Nor the oneness such as experienced in a jar is part of the nature of a power.⁵

And there is further reason why oneness or manyness in respect of a power like space is unprovable. The concept of oneness must necessarily involve the concept of its opposite, viz. manyness. It cannot stand alone. It is unthinkable without its counterpart. Similarly manyness, dependent upon its opposite oneness, is unthinkable; independently of the latter. Hence neither oneness nor manyness can be exclusively predicated of space. It is therefore neither one nor many.

¹ Antaḥ karaṇa dharmo vā bahirevaṃ prakāśate /
Asyāṃ tvantar bahirbhāvaḥ prakriyāyāṃ na vidyate // III. 6. 23.

² Dyauḥ kṣamā vāyurādityaḥ sāgarāḥ sarito diśaḥ /
Antaḥkaraṇa tattvasya bhāgā bahiravasthitāḥ // III. 7. 41.

³ Ekatvamāsām śaktinām nānātvaṃ veti kalpane /
Avastupatite jñātvā satyato na parāmr̥ṣet // III. 6. 24.

⁴ Naikatvaṃ asti nānātvaṃ vinaikatvena netaraḥ /
Paramārthe taylor eṣa bhedo' tyantaṃ na vidyate // III. 6. 26.

⁵ Na śaktinām tathā bhedo yathā śaktimatām sthitiḥ /
Na ca laukikam ekatvaṃ tāsām ātmasu vidyate // III. 6. 27.

DOES MEMORY YIELD TRUE AND VALID KNOWLEDGE?¹

By ANIL KUMAR RAY CHAUDHURI

(Communicated by Sri Sisir K. Mitra)

It is a moot question in Indian Philosophy and opinions are divided amongst philosophers. Some hold brief for the truth and validity of memory, while others are decidedly against them. The majority, however, is against them. We first discuss the views of those who are against truth and validity.

• True knowledge is that which testifies to the novelty and non-contradiction of cognition. Novelty restricts the intrusion of memory within knowledge proper, and non-contradiction is mentioned to exclude error. Memory is a later cognition of the already cognised object and as such its truth and validity have been questioned.

Though this is the ground on which the truth and validity of memory have been generally questioned, Jayanta has challenged this on a totally different ground. Let us discuss his views first. Novelty is not always recognised as one of the necessary conditions of right knowledge. As Jayanta maintains persistent cognition and recognition, though lacking in novelty, are within the limits of right knowledge.

With regard to persistent cognition the known object seems to be cognised again. So it apparently lacks truth. Those who uphold the truth of persistent cognition contend that the element of time is cognised anew in every cognition (e.g. the *Mīmāṃsakas*) and the former instant of time and the present one are widely different, though the object all along remains the same. The cognition of an object at the second moment is distinct from that of the same object at the first instant, since the atomic points of time are distinct from one another. And cognition, in such cases, does not lose its novelty.

Jayanta refuses to admit that there is novelty in persistent cognitions. The same object may be cognised again, but that does not point to the novelty of an object. The element of time does not bring forth any novelty in the object cognised again. For the infinitesimal time is only logically established but not perceptually determined.² The same hand may be perceived for some time. But the hand remains the same all the time. It does not exhibit any difference at all. So persistent cognitions cognise the already cognised and do not certify the freshness of an object.

Further, truth is not always confined to the cognition of the non-cognised. For the truth of recognition will then be called in question. Recognition always refers to the cognised and it does not lose its truth on that account.

It may be urged that recognition is also a cognition of the non-cognised. The example of recognition is of the form 'this is that Devadatta' and it has three parts. 'This' indicates present time, 'that'

¹ I am indebted to Pandit Biraj Mohan Tarkatirtha of Calcutta Sanskrit College and Pandit Visvabandhu Tarkatirtha of Bhowanipur Ramakrishna Veda-Vidyalyaya for the clarification of several books.

² 'Kṣaṇānām atindriyatvāt'—*Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, I, 380.

refers to past time; and the third element is the substantive (*dharmin*) Devadatta. Of these the 'that' and Devadatta are already cognised. But the 'this' is a new element which was not cognised before. This novel element which enters into recognition turns the whole to be a cognition of the non-cognised. Therefore recognition is an instance of right knowledge.

But this view is not convincing at all. An object exists so long as its destructive conditions do not appear. 'This' has been ascertained by the perception previous to recognition. The pastness as cognised before and attaching to the pre-existing Devadatta as his attribute is the distinctive object of recognition. (Nothing uncognised before appears in recognition.) Therefore recognition being a case of cognition of the cognised should not be valid on the view mentioned above, although its validity is admitted by all serious philosophers.

We thus see that validity does not consist in cognising the non-cognised. Were it so, the validity of recognition would be a myth. Also the perception of the second and third moments in persistent perception cognises the already cognised and does not thereby become invalid. Therefore validity does not consist in the cognition of a novel object. This is the view of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.

It may be contended against this view of Jayanta that if cognition of the cognised be also valid, then memory would also be a valid knowledge.

Jayanta replies that memory is invalid, not because it is a case of cognition of the cognised, but because the object recalled may not be existing at the time of recalling it. He maintains that the criterion of valid knowledge consists in the correspondence between cognition and the object cognised. This test of validity is lacking in memory and so it loses its validity. In other words, of the remembered objects at least some may not exist at the time of recollection, and as such there may be no corresponding objects. So memory does not pass for valid knowledge.

It might be urged against Jayanta that if validity of knowledge be due to the presence of an object, then the inference about the past rain would also be debarred from valid knowledge. The past rain is not certainly present at the time of inference.

Jayanta replies that the inference about the past rain is also caused by an existent object, for the inferred is not the *probandum* alone but the subject-of-inference (*pakṣa*) as characterised by the *probandum*. When a man infers the occurrence of rain in an upper region by seeing that a river in the lower region is inflated with a strong current, the subject-of-inference (viz. the river) is present at the time of inference and so the inference is justified by the presence of the object. Hence the inference about the past rain is not unsound.

A further objection may be raised against Jayanta, viz. that though the inference of the river characterised by the past rain may be valid as it is occasioned by the presence of an object, the knowledge arising from *pratibhā*¹ having for its matter that 'my brother will come tomorrow' lacks the presence of an object; for the object in question is not an existent fact.

Jayanta answers that the said intuition has for its object the future arrival of the brother who really exists in some other place, and so at the time of inference the brother's presence elsewhere becomes the object of inference. Therefore such intuitive knowledge is valid.

¹ *Pratibhā* is a kind of intuitive knowledge which is quickly engendered in the mind and is independent of any reason whatsoever.

Memory, on the other hand, is produced in the absence of an object. The presence or absence of an object does not affect memory in the least. Its occurrence is solely due to the impression of the past cognition. Sometimes the object of memory may occupy some other place. But the father or mother (of a person) who is no more in the land of living cannot be an object which contributes to memory. Its impression alone causes memory. Sometimes an object of perception may be absent during its perception; but one or other of the objects of perception being existent, perceptual validity owes its occurrence to the presence of objects. In the case of memory, however, its determining factor is not an existent object but the impression alone. Therefore memory is not a valid state of mind, since it is not due to the existence of an object.

The sum and substance of Jayanta's arguments is that everywhere the presence of objects causes the validity of cognition. If novelty be one of the tests of truth then perceptions at the second and the third moments in persistent cognition and recognition would be deprived of their truth, but no one denies their truth (*Nyāyamañjarī*, Chow. Ed., pp. 20-21).

Jayanta concludes that though memory is, on these grounds, not valid (*ayathārtha*), it may yet be true (*pramāṇa*). For validity and truth are not of the same extent. In other words, truth subsumes validity but is not subsumed by validity. It cannot be said that all cases of memory are true. Where the original experience is true, the consequent memory is true, but not otherwise. When a man mistakes a piece of rope as a serpent and flees away, a later memory of that serpent is not true, for the ground of this memory is false. The memory of the dead father, though invalid, is yet true, since the father was at some time in the land of living.

Udayana elaborately discusses the question and gives his verdict against it. He raises a question against those who propose the truth of memory. What is the connotation (*pravṛttinimitta* or *śakyatāvachedaka*) of the word 'truth'? If it be held that knowledgehood (*jñānatva*) is the connotation, then the reply will be this:—although the truth (*pramāṇa*) of memory can thus be retained in the sense of its being just a case of knowledge, error comes under the purview of truth. For error, too, is a cognitional state.

Nor can truth be a species under the universal (*jāti*) knowledgehood. For the universal in respect of cognition is an object of internal perception. But truth is not so. Truth is a case of inference. Further, truth cannot be itself a universal. The character of a universal is that it does not exist in the locus of its absence or of its contradictory. But truth is not of this sort. Truth resides even in erroneous apprehension which is the locus of the absence of truth—even error is true so far as its ground (i.e. the substantive aspect) is concerned. Were it not so, error would have no ground to stand upon. As error is the contradictory of true knowledge, truth may also be taken as existing in that contradictory case. Therefore truth cannot be regarded as a universal.

Udayana goes on arguing that of two universals inhering in the self-same locus one must be the subsumer and the other subsumed. Knowledgehood (*jñānatva*) and truth (*pramāṇa*), if regarded as universals, must therefore exist in cognition in such a manner that one of them is the subsumer and the other is the subsumed. If knowledgehood be the subsumer, memory cannot be true. For knowledgehood or the subsumer of truth, being absent in memory, memory cannot contain the subsumed (*pramāṇa*). Again if truth be the subsumer of knowledgehood, then every case of knowledge becomes necessarily true. For knowledgehood or the subsumed universal existing in every case of knowledge, truth

or the subsumed universal must reside in all cases of knowledge. Thus error turns out to be a *non-est*.

Direct realisation (*sākṣātkāritva*) cannot also be the subsumer of truth. For inference or cognition due to authority which happens to be the negation of direct realisation would then be untrue. If, again, direct realisation be subsumed by truth, then erroneous cognition would inevitably fall outside the limit of direct realisation; since the subsumer truth being absent in error, it (error) cannot contain the subsumed, i.e. direct realisation.

Nor, again can validity (*yathārthatva*) mean truth or *vice versa*. For in some cases, though memory is valid, it is never true, because in the case of memory we do not feel that we use (*pramāṇomi*) it as true, though we do say that we remember a thing. What is the harm if we do use it in that way? The reply is that the adepts in Nyāya do not use it in that manner. They do not mention *saṁskāra* (which is the only cause of memory) under valid evidences. Truth cannot mean validity alone. For, then, like sense-object contact, the ground of perception, *saṁskāra* also, i.e. the cause of memory, would have been called a *pramāṇa*.

Having denied the truth-character of memory Udayana now proceeds to question even its validity (*yathārthatva*).

Valid cognition is that which predicates of an object a character actually possessed by it; and invalid cognition is that which predicates of an object a character that does not really belong to it. Memory cannot be valid, since it is a false representation of the object. Owing to the perception of a pot in the form 'this is a pot', memory arises out of the impression of the previous percept in the form 'that is a pot'. The object of such memory should be 'the pot qualified by its previous characters'. But at the time of memory the previous characters attached to the pot are not cognised and as such they are not presented in memory. Hence memory is not a reinstatement of the past object *in toto*.

It may be urged that when memory occurs the object appears with its previous characters. Udayana replies that in memory we do not recall an object with all its previous characters. An object is past only because it is the correlate of present destruction (*dvaṁsapratīyogin*). If the past character be also present *in toto*, the object cannot be the correlate of present destruction. Therefore the object of remembrance appears as bereft of the past character. So memory cannot but be invalid.

It may again be urged that the object divested of its previous character is the complete object of memory and as such memory cannot be invalid.

Udayana retorts that such a view is not proper. Memory cognises only the object, previously apprehended. A pot divested of its past character was not an object of perception, so it ought not to have been comprehended in memory. In other words, the cessation of past character was not perceived and as such it ought not to have entered into the constitution of the object of memory. If this be not admitted then an object beyond the ken of perception could also be remembered. But this is not admitted by any philosopher. Therefore, the object with its past character should be remembered. But at the time of memory the object is not apprehended with all its past characters. So memory cannot be valid.

It may be objected that if the object of perception be the same as that of memory, how is it that the perception is valid and memory invalid? The reply is that the object of perception appears with certain characters; but some of the said characters are absent in memory. This difference makes one valid and the other invalid.

A further objection may be raised. It may be said that memory does present the past character but as past, and is therefore valid. Nothing is lost altogether. Everything is permanent. What is apparently lost in oblivion can still be said to occupy existence. Memory retains everything. On the basis of such a view, what was existent in the past can also be called as existent proper. So memory always deals with existents and should not be regarded as invalid (vide also Mallinātha on Varadarāja's *Tārkikarākṣā*, p. 45).

Likewise Laird says, 'it is simply false to maintain that any assertion of existence is confined to the present tense'. 'It is true that the past does not exist now, just as it is true that the present did not exist formerly; but existence itself means the whole of existence, not merely present existence; and past events, like present ones, have their determinate place in the determinate series of existence' (*A Study in Realism*, p. 50).

The reply is that if such be the case then the cognition of the green (*Śyāma*) colour in a pot when turned red by fire should also be valid even after the pot is turned red. But the present cognition of a past thing is thus not necessarily valid. Udayana, therefore, dismisses the above view as a worthless conjecture (see also Mallinātha's *Niṣkantaka* on *Tārkikarākṣā*, p. 45).

Hamilton also says that 'an immediate knowledge of a past thing is a contradiction. For we can only know a thing immediately, if we know it in itself, or as existing; but what is past cannot be known in itself; for it is non-existent' (Reid's works, Edited by Hamilton, p. 339). Hence memory by itself is untrue. Sometimes it may truly represent the bare object. The reason is that memory entirely depends on the impression left by perception. When perception corresponds with reality, the consequent memory is also true. When not, it is false. It is false when it occurs from the false perception of a rope as a snake. Therefore memory has no inherent certitude of its own. Its truth or untruth entirely hangs on the truth or untruth of the previous perception (*Tātparyya-pariśuddhi*, Asia. Soc. Ed., p. 158ff.).

In the commentary on the *Tātparyya-pariśuddhi* Vardhamāna mentions the view of his father (Gaṅgeśa) as of the same import. Gaṅgeśa says that all cognitions have the element of time as qualifying objects. And memory or anticipation is no exception to this rule. When memory arises in the mind, it does not cognise the past or the future time which really attaches to the object; but it takes the object as belonging to the present time only. In other words, it always cognises its object as present and does not represent the past or the future object as past or future. For instance, in the recognition 'this is that Devadatta' the remembered and the perceived Devadatta appears as belonging to the present time. Had it not been the case, the steady inclination of a man towards an object could not have arisen in the case of memory, and inclination is always towards an object in the form 'this is the pot in the room'. It is seen that the inclination towards a remembered pot is not attended with doubt. Had there been the least doubt about the present time attaching to the remembered object the unfailing inclination towards it would not have arisen at all. The absence of certainty in respect of the presentness of the remembered object would go with the total absence of inclination. Thus it is seen that memory cognises its object as present.

An objection: The present time cannot be remembered. For the perceived object through its impression alone becomes the object of memory. How could the present time (which was not cognised before) be also an object of memory? The motive of the objector is this:—The past

cognition by virtue of impression is the cause of memory. Now if the present time be also remembered, then the cognition of the present time is necessary. But the knowledge of the present time cannot occur in the past, for the present time (to be an object of knowledge) was not existent then. So its knowledge is not possible. Therefore the present time, not being an object of previous cognition, cannot be remembered. For the cognised alone is remembered.

Śaṅkara replies that it is due to the glory (*mahimā*) of the conditions of knowledge that the uncognised present time is apprehended in memory. The conditions of memory need not depend upon the impression of present time. They depend only on the impressions of objects denuded of the present time. Memory, therefore, can manifest the past object as present.

Memory cognises its objects with its past characters (time, place, etc.) attached to it. Sometimes the object is non-existent and sometimes the previous characters are absent. That is, the substantive aspect or the attributive aspect is lacking. Therefore memory fails to correspond with reality.

But if memory is thus lacking in validity, why does it sometimes correspond with the real object? The reply is that memory does so, only because it represents the bare object of true cognition apprehended before. Its apparent validity is thus borrowed and not its own. And memory does not correspond with facts when it represents the object of false perception. If the cause be false, memory cannot be true (vide the commentary on *Tātparyya-pariśuddhi*, Asia. Soc. Ed., p. 164).

Śrīdhara is of opinion that memory always cognises its object accompanied by the element of 'that'. This shows that memory is always of the known object in the past. Hence it is not valid. The apprehension which invariably depends upon past cognition can never be valid. Memory, even if it cognises its object correctly, hangs upon the past cognition for the manifestation of the object.

It may be objected that inference similarly, being rooted in perception, should not be valid. Śrīdhara replies that inference depends upon perception for its origination but not for the manifestation of its object. It is independent in respect of the manifestation of an object. Like memory inference does not merely repeat the object of past cognition. Those who say that memory is false, since it is not due to an existent object, do not represent the correct view. If the invalidity of memory be due to the non-existence of objects, then inference about the past and the future should be regarded as invalid. When, for instance, a posthumous child says that his father while living took his food, because otherwise the father could not live—in such an inference the subject is the father who is no more in the land of living, and as such the inference cannot be due to existent object. Therefore invalidity of memory does not rest upon the non-existence of objects, but upon representing past cognition (*Nyāya-kandali*, Chow. Ed., p. 257).

The Prābhākaras are also of the same opinion. Memory cannot independently yield us knowledge of facts. It entirely depends upon past cognition (*Prakaranapañcikā*, Chow. Ed., p. 42).

We now consider those who are in favour of the validity of memory. Valid cognition, the Jaina holds, is that which leads to successful activity towards an object. The perceptual knowledge of a pot is valid, since as a result of such knowledge a pot is attained. So also memory which results from previous knowledge of a pot existing elsewhere is valid, since it leads to successful activity.

The Buddhist puts an objection: What does memory connote? If it means cognition, then perception has practically no difference from memory. If, again, it means cognition of the past, then the perception of Yajñadatta in respect of a thing already cognised by Devaladatta is also memory. Therefore memory itself is inexplicable.

Prabhāchandra replies that memory is exactly the reproduction of a thing which was cognised in the past. This is the meaning of memory. So the objection of the Buddhist does not stand.

The Buddhist further objects that memory cannot be valid, since it cognises what was already cognised in the past.

Prabhāchandra retorts that the invalidity of cognition does not result from the fact that a thing is cognised again. Knowledge is valid when it manifests an object attended with successful activity. Memory is valid since it manifests an object correctly. Though the clear manifestation of an object of perception is lacking in memory, yet the manifestation in memory is of a lesser kind. It is for this manifestation of an object that memory is valid.

Prabhāchandra notes in this connection that when memory does not lead to successful activity, it is then a semblance of memory and not memory proper. The instance is the memory of a rope-serpent (*Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*, N.S. Ed., p. 336).

The Mādhva also admits the validity of memory. Memory is internal perception by the mind with concentration of attention (*bhāvanā*) as a condition. It is a form of perception where the traces of past cognition serve as a contact of the present mind with a past cognition. Memory, therefore, is valid knowledge and is a variety of perception. The cause of memory is not a separate source of evidence, though it is a sure ground of true cognition (*Pramāṇa-candrikā*, Cal. Uni. Ed., Chap. I).

Rāmānuja is practically of the same opinion (see *Yatīndramata-dīpikā*, p. 7).

Prof. Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya thus summarises the point in favour of the Jains. 'If *Pramāṇa* be understood as *ajñāta-jñāpaka*, the Jaina may still urge against the Mīmāṃsaka that the pastness of the remembered object was never known in the perception of the object and is apprehended in memory only. But the Naiyāyika may contend that memory being an *immediate* apprehension of the pastness, the remembered object appears as the presented past, the past as present (the so-called memory-image being not a shadow of the past object but the past object itself as now indefinitely perceived, i.e. as present). The object as at once past and present is a contradiction and so the memory of it is not *pramāṇa*. The objection, however, does not affect the Jaina position, since he holds against all others that non-denial is a form of *knowledge*, the knowledge of a content that is definitely at once not being or not non-being, the content of memory being a mode of *avaktavya*.¹ The Naiyāyika would admit knowledge of the past as such though not through memory. It cannot be perception and may be through inference or *śabda*, but how is the concept of the past obtained, if not through memory? If he admits that pastness is primarily thought in memory but not known, that the *Vyavahāra* (anoetic experience) only of pastness is through memory, it

¹ Prof. Bhattacharyya means to say that the object of memory is indefinite or indescribable (*avaktavya*), since it is presented as involving an affirmative mode of thought, although, in fact, it is a thing of the past (i.e. not an existent entity). Thus in the realm of thought, the object of memory can be said to imply neither affirmation nor negation. Likewise in the region of perception the illusory content is characterised by the Advaitin as having neither being nor non-being.

may be asked if the content of mere *vyavahāra* consciousness can be turned into a known content. Is the actual equivalent to the *possible plus something*?¹

The author of *Prakāṣārtha-vivaraṇa* expresses the view of the Bhāṭṭas who strike a different note altogether. They hold that memory is neither true nor erroneous. It is not true, since it is a cognition of the previously cognised object; it is not false, as it is not due to any defect. 'Smṛtistu pūrvastārtha-mātra-smaraṇam na pramāṇam, nāpi apramāṇam iti Bhāṭṭapāṇyāḥ vadanti' (*Prakāṣārtha-vivaraṇa*, Mad. Uni. Ed., Vol. 1, p. 330).

¹ Late Prof. K. C. Bhattacharyya wrote it in connection with the validity of memory in a letter addressed to me in 1943.

PORCELAIN IN PREHISTORIC INDIA

By M. SEN GUPTA

In ancient India, when its civilization attained such eminence, known as the 'Indus Valley culture', it had grown to an extent that almost every necessity was met from within their easy reach. In olden days, there was no trace of furniture, but pottery was the most essential object required for every household. Other antiquities of human necessities giving the evidence of the highest order of civilization have also been found. It appears that the people of that age were very skilful and possessed high technical qualities. They made their pottery with a high class of slips and paints, evidently of ceramic colour composition, an account of which has already been published in an article, 'A New Era in Archaeology', in the November issue of *Modern Review*, 1955, by the present writer. Descriptions of some of the cruder types of porcelain-ware, existing during that time, have also been given.

During the Hun dynasty (Ref. Bibliography—4 and 9) the first porcelain was recorded between 185 B.C. to 80 B.C. but the porcelain discussed here was much older than the Hun dynasty and it was brought into use probably from the chalcolithic period of the Indus Valley culture. Most of the antiquities recorded here are from Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Some of the specimens from Mohenjodaro and Harappa, dating from 3250 B.C., which were taken as green faience are probably 'some types of porcelain'. The word 'faience' comes from France and has been taken from the word *Faenza*, the name of an Italian town. In France, it is taken to be a kind of porous ware covered with glaze. There is no such word in English or German which may be compared with that. In Italy, the ware made in Faenza and all ware which are taken as faience are termed as 'Majolica'. 'Staingut' is another word which also denotes fine white faience. In England, faience ware is taken to be a porous body, colour being greyish brown or brown having a white opaque glaze. In Germany, 'stain' means something made out of stone. The bangle fragments, vase fragments and other similar objects which are taken to be green faience from Mohenjodaro and Harappa are recognized as Jaspideous rock or Glauconite by some geologists, because of their colour and of the composition being of a silicate of iron, which gives a green colour to some of the beds of greensand strata. In France, this name was probably given to some of the porous ware as they resembled the Jaspideous rock found from Faenza, rocks brought from the Alps. They took it to be a kind of porous earthenware. These two objects, i.e., Jaspideous rock and porous earthenware, resemble so much that it is very difficult to distinguish them. Notwithstanding all these differences, an attempt has been made in this article to deal with such evidences which go to prove the presence of porcelain and ceramic ware in ancient India.

This so-called, faience found from Mohenjodaro and Harappa has a composition similar to that of porcelain. High percentage of hydrated silica with aluminium admixture with some proportion of clay formed part of its composition similar to that of porcelain, though a little cruder in form than the present-day porcelain. Some of the specimens are of a little different composition. This has been detected as a compound of

silica and cryolite with oxide of zinc, which also go into the composition of fusible porcelain. These specimens termed as faience have already been recorded in Sir John Marshall's Mohenjodaro, Vol. III (Plate No. Ci CLVII).

Dr. Ernst Rosenthal, the famous ceramic expert who came to India some three years back, under whose inspiration and valuable suggestions this little work has been taken up, is of the opinion that the term 'Ceramic' is implied to a material made of clay or similar substance found in a plastic state and then dried and fired at a temperature high enough to give the necessary strength. The word 'Ceramic' is of Greek origin. In ancient Hellas, the potter was called 'Terameus' and 'Keramos' meaning both the product of the potter, as also the raw plastic clay material used in pottery. Nowadays 'Ceramic' is understood to be not only the manufacture of pottery articles, but also the manufacture of all sorts of clay or similar plastic raw material. The ceramic industry nowadays supplies the various domestic requirements in porcelain, China and earthenware. In the production of artware, practically all types of ceramic materials are used from terra-cotta to fine China or kaolin.

Porcelain-ware has a white translucent body. It is dense, vitrified and impermeable to water. The translucency distinguishes it from white stone-ware; the density and impermeability distinguishes it from terra-cotta, faience and earthenware. It was originally used to denote objects manufactured of mother-of-pearl from shell called porcelain (in Portuguese, Porcellena). Later in the eighteenth century porcelain came to mean the brilliant white translucent ceramic table-ware, which in England and in the United States was known as China and China-ware. In course of time, all sorts of porcelain or China-ware have been developed in various countries. The differences are, of course, mainly due to two factors: (1) Raw materials employed and proportions used; (2) Manufacturing methods.

All porcelain and China bodies are vitrified, that is to say, they are fired to a point where, to all intents and purposes, all the pores in the body are filled with a glassy bond. Under the circumstances, the fired body has practically no absorption and porosity is so slight that the translucency of the body is not affected. The semi-vitreous China has an absorption of 4% to 10% and that of fine earthenware are from 10% to 15%.

Raw materials for white burning bodies used for porcelain or China-ware are generally as follows:—

- (1) Kaolin (China clay); (2) White burning ball clays; (3) Flint or quartz; (4) Felspar or minerals containing felspar, Cornish stone and pegmatite.

Kaolin or China clays used for making porcelain and China-ware are much less plastic than ball clays. The white clay or kaolin found in many parts of India and in the Manchar Lake group is more plastic than other kaolin or China clays. It is also presumed that the potters of Mohenjodaro and Harappa used to collect their raw materials from the neighbouring parts of the country. A better type of kaolin deposit, pegmatite, felspar and quartz or flint is available in the Manchar Lake area, which is about 20 miles from Mohenjodaro. Some of the specimens of these types may be seen in the Sind group of Geological galleries of the Indian Museum. Almost all kinds of these objects are also found from the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa about which mention has been made in the latter part of this article. It is not always possible to obtain the natural raw material absolutely free from impurities and

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sometimes they are found to contain a little amount of iron oxide which gives the ware a yellowish tinge when it is fired under oxidizing conditions. This yellow colour is generally eliminated by adding a little cobalt oxide to the body when the colour becomes white to bluish white according to the amount of cobalt oxide added to it. In the case of the specimens from Mohenjodaro and Harappa as green faience, they seem to be of the same nature of porcelain, cruder in type. Greenish or bluish colours are present due to the presence of cobalt oxide, copper oxide, etc., and porosity in these articles in some cases is as little as 2% to 4%. It is also noted that a high percentage of hydrated silica with aluminium makes the bodies non-porous but in the case of faience, which should be a porous body, absorption is 10% to 15% as in the case of earthenware. The pieces in question are generally found in the forms of bangle fragments, lids and some fragment of vase (exhibited in the Indian Museum, Serial Nos. 5, 6, 15 to 22, Plate Nos. I & II). Probably they were used for special types of wearing apparel and of casket type. They were probably made out of small furnaces of blasting type, which produced more heat than ordinary kilns. There were many types of gold ornaments, viz. necklace, etc., found in the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa which indicate the presence of goldsmiths who always used the bellow type blasting for making ornaments; so it is probable that blasting was known to them. They also used the blasting type of smaller furnace to produce more heat for making these smaller objects. They were not abundantly found like ordinary earthenware vessels as there were perhaps some manufacturing difficulties and only skilful and efficient workers could possibly turn out these objects. Nowadays as things have improved in various ways, the production of porcelain has become easier and table-wares are introduced in the ceramic industries over the whole world.

There are other types of crude porcelain, some of them brownish white (Sl. Nos. 5, 6, Pl. I—5 & 6), some greyish white (Sl. Nos. 15 & 16) but in the bangle fragments, it is noticed that the greenish colour varies from whitish to greenish or bluish colour (Sl. Nos. 17 to 22, Pl. I—4 & Pl. II—7, 7A). It may therefore be assumed that they used cobalt oxide for eliminating the brownish colour which occurs in cruder porcelain due to the impurities in the natural kaolin. It shows that the potters in those days tried this process and they were able to produce better and whiter types of porcelain, which of course are a few in number (also found in the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa). The bangle fragments, some other ring fragments, etc., are bluish or greenish-white type of porcelain. They are all dense, vitrified, impermeable to water and translucency can also be detected in some cases. The glazes are also found in many cases and generally can be seen inside the incised portion of the decoration. It shows that the specimens were rubbed out and due to probable decomposition, the glazes or the flux coating over them was not found in every case and therefore some percentage of porosity (about 4% to 6%) was present in these wares. Even if we exclude the cases of the cruder type of porcelain, there are other evidences in the better and whiter types of porcelain found from there in the same level (Nos. 1, 2, 3, Pl. I—1 & Pl. II—6). These are perfectly white and may compare well with the porcelain of the modern times. Sir John Marshall has mentioned about some of the faience objects and the analytical reports which have been published show clearly that the objects are silicated hydroxide with aluminium; the presence of iron and copper have also been detected (Sir John Marshall's Mohenjodaro, Vol. II, page 689). The cruder porcelain is also found to be of similar properties, as the natural source

of clay contains these impurities and is regulated after eliminating them. However, there are some points for taking these objects as cruder porcelain. The definition of porcelain and faience has already been stated and these objects most probably are not examined from the points of their physical properties. The physical property for comparing faience with that of porcelain is more important than that of the chemical analysis. The body of the faience is not dense, not perfectly vitrified and porous whereas in the case of porcelain it is dense, perfectly vitrified and impermeable to water.

The physical tests are made in the following forms. For testing the vitrification the objects under investigation are tried by a penknife to see whether they get scratched or not, because in case of full vitrification, the object must not get scratched. The scratches are formed on glasses also in some cases, if they are highly vitrified. The porosity is tested by putting the objects in water after weighing them. They are taken out of water after 48 hours, reweighed and then porosity is recorded. The translucency is tested in a dark room. A powerful light is placed inside a carefully closed light-tight box containing only a small hole. Each object should be placed against the hole and tested to ascertain the translucency. Now the inference may also be made that the faience found in other parts of the world, as for instance from the excavations of Ur and some other places, is of different kinds. The so-called green faience was not found in those places but different types which were porous in nature were found. Moreover, the white type of these objects is not mentioned anywhere. These white types of porcelain pieces (Sl. Nos. 2, 7 to 13, 15 to 27) which were mentioned by Sir John Marshall and other eminent archaeologists as faience and also in some cases of pictographic seals as steatite stones will now need new orientation, in the light of evidences adduced above.

Evidences of the materials, which they used for the manufacture of these articles, have also been found after a thorough search and examination of the antiquities from those sites. The ball clay (Sl. Nos. 28 & 29) which is one of the most important factors for the resources of raw material for the production of porcelain and other equipments such as polishers, pestle-mortars and stone rings, as used even now by many of the modern ceramists for grinding, crushing and polishing, has been found from there (Sl. No. 30). Hence from the evidences at our disposal, it may safely be concluded that ancient India produced porcelain long before China did, which dates back to the chalcolithic period, sometime in 3000 B.C. Up till now, it has been considered that porcelain was first made in China and after that it was introduced in Europe and Persia.

The ceramic industry is based on the mixture of clays with other materials by the action of heat. When fired at high temperature the ceramic product becomes durable. The methods of firing have been improved a lot in the course of centuries. With the advance of science and engineering, ceramic research has produced better objects than those of its earlier counterparts. The objects referred to in this article are generally glaze fired at a temperature which is 200°C. lower than the 'bisque' temperature. If the ware is slightly under-fired it is highly porous and tends to cause 'crazing'. Judging from all these points the little porosity and less translucency which are found in those materials may be ignored from the rigid specifications of modern porcelain and it would be advisable that these are viewed in the perspective of the primitive age, in which they were made.

In the time of Hui dynasty between 185 B.C. and 80 B.C. a kind of stone-ware with brown, bluish green and cream-coloured glaze, described

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as the first porcelain articles made, in which case Chinese porcelain was sixteen centuries ahead of European porcelain. These pieces were something between stone-ware and porcelain, since they are not white and translucent enough to be termed porcelain.' [Ref. Ernst Rosenthal's Pottery and Ceramics (1925), page 22.] All the above types have been mentioned in this article below. Moreover some pieces from Mohenjodaro and Harappa are found perfectly white and the glaze-coat is also prominent in them (Specimen Sl. No. 1, Pl. I—1). The translucency cannot properly be detected in some of them as they are very thick and decomposition to some extent has probably taken place as they were buried under earth for a long time. However, the translucency does not make any difference as they are dense, vitrified and impermeable to water.

One beautiful specimen of a white type of porcelain showing the miniature seated ram figure from Harappa (Sl. No. 1, Pl. I—1) is very rich in quality. The presence of glaze-coat or flux on it shows the perfect development onwards in the period. Some of the pictographic seals are also found to be of the same grade of white type and the glaze-coat is also present in them. A typical ornamented white porcelain (Sl. No. 2, Pl. II—6) of heavier grade is found from Mohenjodaro, the decoration of which is very much like that in the famous Yogi figure wearing a shawl in a series of three circles forming a triangle spread over it. Hence an attempt at dating of these antiquities will have to be made afresh in the light of the facts given in this article.

The antiquities referred to here are shown in the collection of the Indian Museum. The details of their specification with description are noted here for the purpose of evidences at our disposal:—

- Sl. No. 1 ... No. 11120 is an excellent specimen of a seated ram figure, size $1'' \times \frac{3}{8}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$, from Harappa with a hole in the middle. It is a perfectly white type of porcelain with a flux-coat. The quality of it may be compared in some respects to that of the modern porcelain (Plate I—1).
- Sl. No. 2 ... N.S. 5177 (size $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{3}{8}''$) is another piece of white porcelain from Mohenjodaro, though the glaze-coat is not present, which may probably have been decomposed due to saline effect of the soil as the porcelain was buried under earth for such a long period. The decoration is almost similar to that of the famous Yogi figure from Mohenjodaro, which is recorded as steatite. It was not possible to examine this piece properly as this object is kept elsewhere (Marshall's Mohenjodaro, Vol. III, Plate XCVIII). There was a decoration showing three circles in a triangular form, spread over it on the entire outer surface of this piece. It is vitrified and almost non-porous (Plate II—6).
- Sl. No. 3 ... 10499 (size $1.1'' \times 9''$) is also from Mohenjodaro, the same type as Sl. No. 2. This is a vase fragment with two holes and is of thin ware resembling a table-ware type. Vitrification is also perfect.
- Sl. No. 4 ... N.S. 5929 (size—ht. $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times$ dia. $\frac{3}{4}''$) a pale blue chess-man of a little cruder type. The absorption is a slight as 2%. The glaze is present.

- Sl. No. 5 ... N.S. 5922—a cream white type of cruder series with a porosity of 4% to 5%. It is a fragment of a lid with a lotus design on top. It may be compared with the first porcelain discovered in China in the Hun dynasty between 185 B.C. to 80 B.C. (Plate I—6).
- Sl. No. 6 ... N.S. 6134 is also a lid fragment. The colour is of slight brownish to white with incised petal design around and rope pattern in relief on the edge of the lid. Holes are also found along the margin (Plate I—5). Traces of white glaze-coat are present in the incised portion which indicates that the absence of glaze on the other portions is due to the rubbing of the surface.
- Sl. No. 7 ... 10382 is a pictographic seal, stated by Sir John Marshall and others as steatite. This is a fine specimen to show the texture and quality of the white type of porcelain with regular flux-coat on it. A standing elephant is depicted with the pictographic scripts above. The seals of this type are always made in a negative form. As the glaze-coat is very prominent, it is unjustified to classify it as steatite. All the seals of this type are vitrified and porosity is also as little as 4% (Plate II—4).
- Sl. No. 8 ... 10379 is another seal of a little smaller size and (viz. 0.9" square) of the same quality as above. The design shows a unicorn, a typical type of animal found in the Indus Valley culture. The flux-coat is present and it is now a little brownish in colour (Plate II—2).
- Sl. No. 9 ... 10378 is another seal of the same size and same type in all respects as above, but the glaze-coat is found white in it (Plate II—1).
- Sl. No. 10 ... N.S. 5733 is another seal which is a little bigger in size (1.15" square of the same type) but the glaze-coat has become cream white in colour.
- Sl. Nos. 11 & 12 ... N.S. 6046-7 are two other seals which are 1" square of the same type with a regular white glaze-coat in them.
- Sl. No. 13 ... N.S. 6044 is a fragmentary piece of bigger type of seal measuring 1.85"×8"×4" and showing the top portion of seal with the bull's horn and pictographic scripts above. This is also a fine white type porcelain.
- Sl. No. 14 ... 10387 is a red type of coloured porcelain and it may be compared with Dwight's red porcelain, with designs of a tiger hunt on one side and on the reverse a series of pictographic scripts. This is a fine specimen which represents a coloured porcelain in those days. It is perfectly vitrified and porosity is almost nil. The grains are also very fine, and the surface is very smooth. Under the circumstances it cannot be taken to be stone-ware. It is mentioned as terra-cotta because of its colour (Plate I—8, 8A).
- Sl. Nos. 15 & 16 ... 10503-4 are two pieces of vase fragments of a little cruder type. The colour is grey white. Slight

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- porosity is present and vitrification in these objects is not also perfect.
- Sl. No. 17 ... 10498 is also a vase fragment. The colour of the texture is pale green with a whitish glaze-coat on it and it may be compared with all types of porcelain.
- Sl. No. 18 ... 11115 is a miniature vase with a pointed base and three lined band incised in the middle showing a typical type of Indus culture. The texture is of pale green colour with white glaze. Inside the vase there is an impression of linen or cloth which is an evidence of its plasticity in the primary stage. This fact is already described in the 'New Era in Archaeology' in November 1955 issue of *Modern Review*. It can also be taken as coloured porcelain (size—ht. $1\frac{1}{2}$ " × dia. $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", Plate II—7, 7A).
- Sl. No. 19 ... 11117 is another piece of vase fragment of similar type as above (size $1\frac{1}{2}$ " × $\frac{7}{8}$ " × $\frac{1}{2}$ ").
- Sl. No. 20 ... 11118 is a lid fragment of a vase of the same type as above, the size being $1\frac{1}{8}$ " dia. × $\frac{3}{4}$ " ht., with a big hole in the centre with three incised bands on top of neck (Plate I—4).
- Sl. No. 21 ... N.S. 4537 is a vase fragment of pale green colour. There is a distinct mark of joining two portions together into one with a cement lining. This shows that the parts were made separately and then joined together. The impression of linen or cloth inside is also present in this case. The body became homogeneous after firing and shows the full vitrification. The glaze is also present and it is also impermeable to water. The specimen is already discussed in the previous article, see ref. Sl. No. 18.
- Sl. No. 22 ... 10496 is a typical bangle fragment with three ridges on the outer face and bevelled on the inner face— $1\frac{1}{4}$ " dia. and section $1"$ × $\frac{1}{4}"$. The texture is of cream white colour with white glaze. It is fully vitrified and perfectly non-porous.
- Sl. No. 23 ... 10508 is a button or stud with a lozenge pattern inside a circle and rope design on the outer border of the bottom portion, size $\frac{3}{4}"$ dia. × $\frac{1}{2}"$ ht. This is of the same type as No. 22.
- Sl. No. 24 ... 11108 is also another stud which is almost the same in all respects as No. 23, except that it is a little greyish in colour.
- Sl. No. 25 ... 11105 is a bangle fragment with deeply indented pattern, pale blue coloured porcelain, translucent, fully vitrified and non-porous. This is a coloured porcelain with all perfection—size $\frac{3}{4}"$ dia. of a section × $2\frac{1}{2}"$ dia. It may stand all tests of the modern porcelain.
- Sl. No. 26 ... 10494 is also a bangle fragment, cream white in colour of the texture with traces of greenish glaze. This specimen is not perfect as there is a little porosity about 4% to 5%. Its present size is $1\frac{1}{2}"$ dia. × section $\frac{1}{4}"$ dia.

- Sl. No. 27 ... 11106 and 11107 are fragments of finger ring having a size 1" dia. with rope pattern design, pale blue in colour. The glaze is present. They are also almost perfect in all points of porcelain.
- Sl. Nos. 28 & 29 ... N.S. 5543 are two specimens of ball clay and pegmatite. There are also other pieces representing flint or quartz which were the sources of raw materials for the manufacture of porcelain.
- Sl. No. 30 ... N.S. 5965 and N.S. 5981 are some fragments of stone polishers probably used for filing and making the surface even before applying the glaze-coat.
- Sl. No. 31 ... 10458 and No. nil are two ring stones, used for grinding, sharpening and smoothing, etc., for the manufacturing process.
- Sl. No. 32 ... 10463 and N.S. 5497 are two specimens representing pestle and mortar required for multifarious work for the manufacturing purpose.
- Sl. No. 33 ... N.S. 5197 is a portion of a very big bevel-rounded ring stone used for crushing and grinding clay balls, pegmatite, etc.

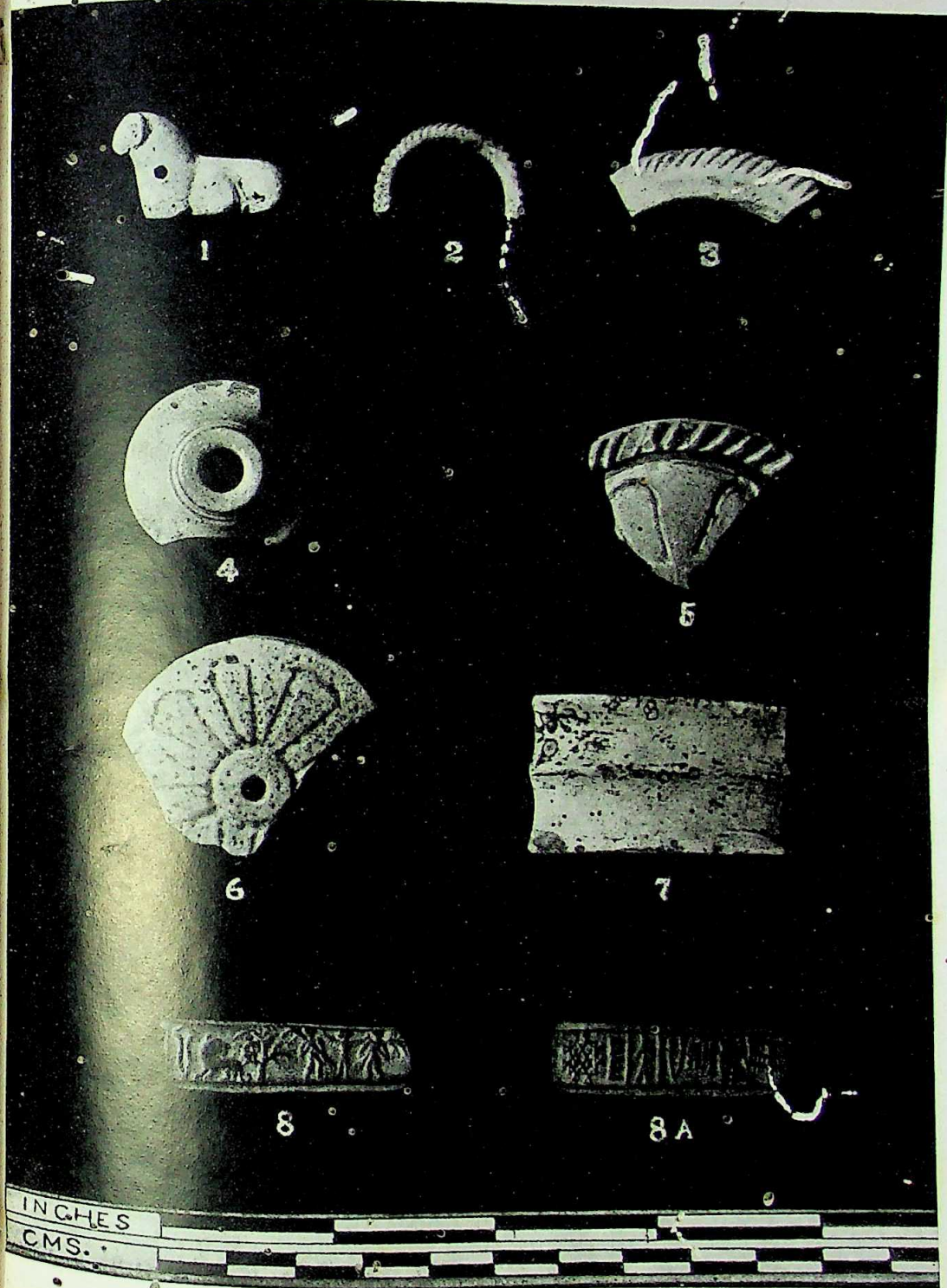
Serial Nos. 1, 18 to 20, 24, 25 and 27 are found from the excavations of Harappa and the rest are from Mohenjodaro.

POSTSCRIPT

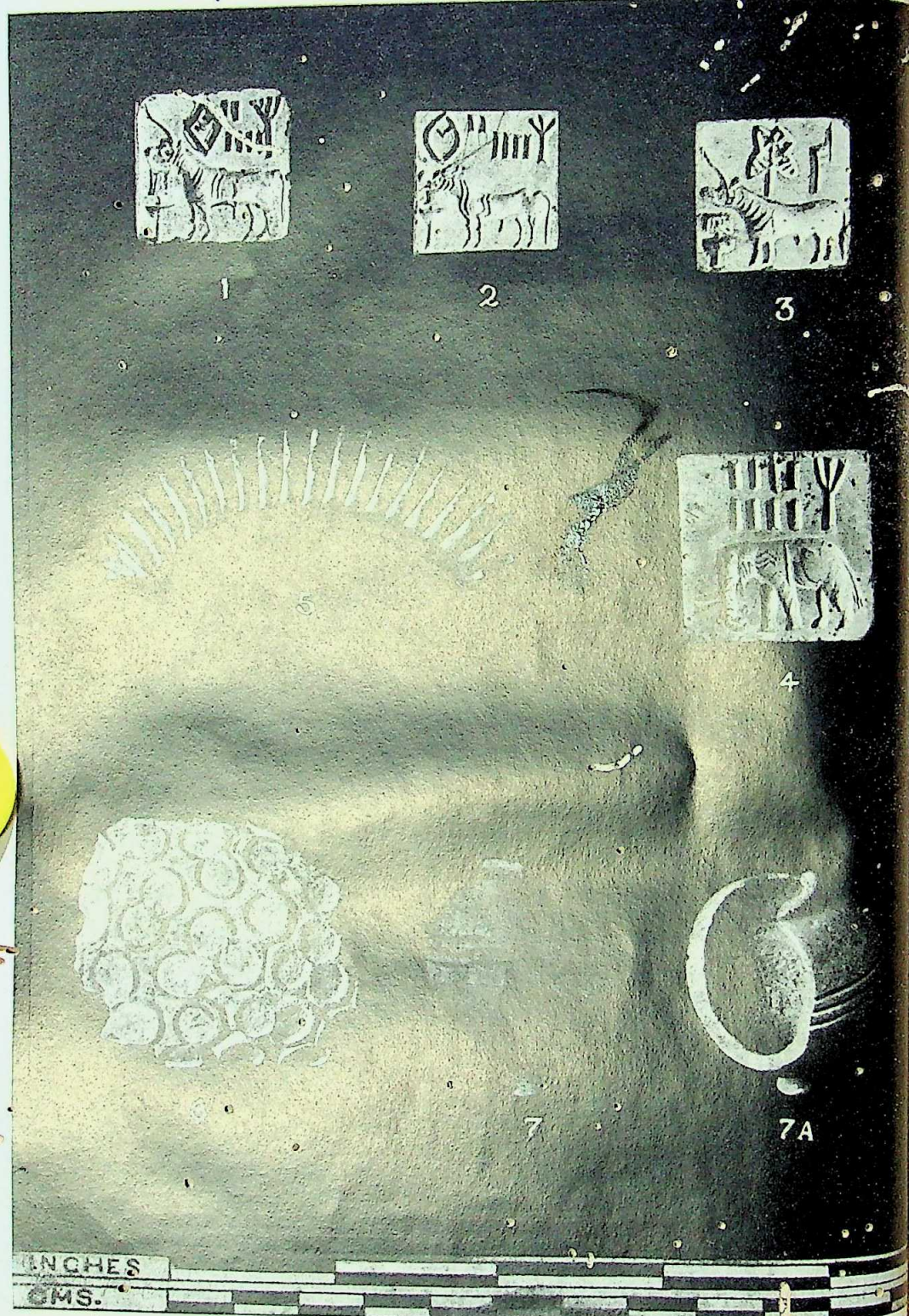
Professor V. Gordon Childe, Director, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, during his recent visit to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in January, 1957, came across the objects of the Harappa culture referred to in this article. After minutely examining the objects termed as steatites, faience, etc., he was highly impressed with the arguments adduced in favour of a new terminology proposed for them.

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MUSIC IN ISLĀM

By M. L. ROY CHOUDHURY

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TRANSLITERATION OF THE ARABIC WORDS

Transliteration with diacritical marks is a puzzling work. Many methods have been adopted from time to time. The Royal Asiatic Society method, the German method and the Hukuliyat Society method have each its own defects and merits. In fact, many of the sounds of Arabic letters cannot be adopted to English language and tongue. Even if they have been, the sounds of a letter like و or م differ when they are affixed or suffixed to some other letter or when they are doubled, and as such no absolutely fixed method is satisfactory. I have talked to some Arabic scholars whose mother tongue is Arabic; they could not satisfy me in their method of transliteration—the distinction is so slight and subtle from letter to letter such as ظ - ض - ز - ذ. Anyway there is a touch of pedantry in each method of transliteration. I have adopted the following:—

Arabic Letters	Represented by	Arabic Letters	Represented by
ا	a	ع	'a
آ	ā	غ	gh
ب	b	ف	f
ت	t	ق	q
ث	th	ك	k
ج	j	ل	l
ح	h	م	m
خ	kh	ن	n
د	d	و	{ o : w : v : ū
ذ	dh		
ر	r	ه	h
ز	z	ز	a'
س	s	ي	y : ī
ش	sh	او	ū
ص	s		
ض	d	ن	n
ط	t	گ	{(Persian) g
ظ	z		

INTRODUCTION

Music¹ in Islām is an extremely controversial subject. Islām is a religion of clear commands; 'yes' or 'no' has been the verdict on almost all the fundamentals connected with the faith and rituals of Islām. Islām is primarily ethical in its outlook and practice, and it is hardly metaphysical in conception. So far as music is concerned, there is no mention of any word directly signifying the concept of music, I mean Samā' (سمع), Ghinā' (غناء), Mūsīqī (موسيقى). Commentators on the Qur'ān have stretched certain words like *Lahwul Ḥadīth* (لهو الحديث), *Az-Zūr* (الزور), *Sāmidūn* (سامدون) to imply music. So there has been ample scope for imagination and comment on the subject of music in the absence of any direct mention of the word 'music' itself in the Qur'ān.

There are two main schools of opinion:

- (1) One group says music is *ḥarām*—unlawful.
- (2) Another group says music is *ḥalāl*—permissible.

In between the two stands another group who says that music is not permissible under certain conditions. As such they hold:

- (1) Music in poetry is unlawful.
- (2) Music is unlawful when accompanied with instrument.
- (3) Music is unlawful when it is enjoyed in ecstasy as is usual with some Sūfīs.

About the degree of its permissibility or non-permissibility a peep into the adjectives used in connection with music may give a student some explanation. Music has been described as:

- (a) *Ibāḥat* (إباحة) permissible but not commendable.
- (b) *Mustaḥibāt* (مستحبات) meritorious.
- (c) *Sunnat* (سنة) done by the Prophet; so permitted.
- (d) *Wājib* (واجب) should be done.
- (e) *Ḥalāl* (حلال) permissible.
- (f) *Makrūh* (مكروه) disapproved.
- (g) *Ḥarām* (حرام) forbidden.

Each of these adjectives has in its background the reasons which define its connotation.

The unquestioned authority of Islām is the *Qur'ān*—revelations to and recitation of Muḥammad (Peace be on Him). Then come the sayings of the Prophet commonly known as the *Ḥadīth*, and the actions and examples of the Prophet. Though of much lesser importance, may be classed next in order, the examples of the *Ṣaḥābīs* (companions of the Prophet), of the *Tābi'īns* (companions of the *Ṣaḥābīs*), of the *Tabi'ī Tābi'īns* (companions of the *Tābi'īns*). The first four Khalīfas (commonly known as *Khulafā ur-Rāshidīn*), though they were companions, have to be treated separately, because of their position as leaders of the Faith and Brotherhood when Islām was still free from extraneous forces. After that comes the *Fiqh*, i.e. the theological dissertations of Imāms like Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal. They are the jurists of Islām

¹ The word music has been used to signify singing with or without instruments.

and their opinions and actions are respected by Muslims all over the world more or less. Yet there is another authority of Islām which is known as the *Fatāwa* (pronouncements, injunctions, rulings) of the scholars of Islām. So the Qur'ān, Hadith, Fiqh and *Fatāwa* have to be discussed if any final opinion is to be formed on any important subject of Islām.

In this short treatise on Music in Islām, I have tried to depict a short background of sociology of Arabia defining the genesis of music. Here I have traced the instances of its survivals from *Jāhiliyyah* (Days of Ignorance) in the early years of Islām. Not a few people think that Islām was entirely a new social order in Arabia. But any careful student might find out that there were many survivals of pre-Islāmic Arabia in the Islāmic society, politics, culture and religion. A real study of the position of music in Islām must begin with the Qur'ān; unfortunately the Qur'ān is silent on music directly. The commentators on the Qur'ān are innumerable, almost a hundred thousand; Arabic is a language of dots with delicacy of dictions and intricacy of style. So, the commentators had enough scope for difference. Moreover, the verses of the Qur'ān have to be interpreted according to their contexts. In fact, there have grown wide differences in interpretations of the Qur'ān in the light of their contexts otherwise called *shān-i Nuzūl* (شان نزول). Further, different sects of Islām accept different commentators according to their own standards. This has often made confusion worse confounded.

Then a student has to study music in the light of the Traditions of the Prophet—commonly known as the Hadith. If Qur'ān is the replica (*Taswīr*) of the Prophet, the Prophet is the commentary (*Tafsīr*) of the Qur'ān—so said: 'Āyisha. Therefore, the Prophet's sayings and actions should be looked into very carefully. Al-Bukhārī, the most celebrated collector of Hadith, is the greatest collector of traditions and is regarded as an unmistakable authority on the subject. The great enquirer collected, compiled and remembered 600,000 traditions, sifted them and then eliminated the unreliable ones and finally embodied 9,000 of them into his famous book.¹ His method of test of traditions were:

- (1) Whether the chain of any particular tradition goes up to the Prophet.
- (2) What were the antecedents of the narrators of the traditions?
Are the characters of the narrators absolutely above reproach?
- (3) Whether the traditions stand the test of reasons; whether they tally or not with the Qur'ān.
- (4) Whether there is too much of reward, or too much of punishment for too small a thing or work.
- (5) Whether the tradition is against culture and common sense (*Tamaddun* and 'Aql).

In the ninth century A.H. 'Allāma Ḥusain bin Mubārak az Zubaidī re-examined Bukhārī's collections and embodied them in his book named *Tajrīd u'l Bukhārī*. He eliminated

- (1) those traditions which were mentioned more than once though by different men;
- (2) those traditions which began after the death of the Prophet;
- (3) those traditions where any link was missing or which did not reach up to the Prophet;

¹ *Tajrīd u'l Bukhārī*, published by Firuzuddin, written by Mubārak, p. 5.

- (4) those which omitted to mention the intermediate authorities though the original source was mentioned.

Thus *Tajrīd u'l Bukhārī* maintained only 2,250 *Hadīth* which conform to his standard of judgment.

The student has to take pains to sift the *Hadīth* in details because the arguments both for or against music have been based largely on the sayings and actions of the Prophet. In later times, many people, in order to lay more emphasis on their own view of things, introduced new traditions, distorted them, or sometimes twisted them to suit their purpose. In fact, respect for 'authority' (اِسْلَام) in Islām is very high and so it is necessary to critically estimate this source of Islām.

Personal actions of the Prophet and His sayings are the most important materials for any discussion on music in the absence of any direct reference to music in the Qur'ān.

One has to consider the actions of the Ṣaḥābīs like 'Āyisha, Prophet's wife; Abū Bakr, father of 'Āyisha; 'Umar, a father-in-law of the Prophet; 'Alī, his son-in-law. Then came in the important Ṣaḥābīs like Hamzah, his uncle; Anas, his personal servant; Bilāl, his personal *Mu'adhdhin* (announcer of the time of prayers) and other important personalities generally known as '*Ashra-i Mubashshara*'. The *Tābi'īns* and *Tabi'i Tābi'īns* cannot be left out of consideration. They are of lesser authority.

The *Fiqh* or juristic decisions, as they are called, are treated as great authorities in Islām. Learned jurists, Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, besides interpreting facts have left precedents by their personal conduct and action which are often treated by the Muslims with respect as examples to follow. In spite of the appeal for unity and brotherhood, Islām has developed sects and sectarianism; so these law givers are accepted or rejected according to the school to which a follower belongs. The Shi'as as a class refuse to follow any *Fiqh* except when it is in consonance with what has been accepted by their Imāms; when it is at variance with their dogmas, interpretations and rules have been made according to law of preference.¹

The *Fatāwa* given by the learned men of Islām, commonly known as the '*Ulamā*' are also treated as authorities. Their opinions on music differ widely as they accept the views of a particular commentator of the Qur'ān, or as they reject any particular tradition regarding the sayings and actions of the Prophet. Their personal practices are often cited as authorities. Hence there has developed wide difference in the controversy on music amongst the theologians. Few of them have accepted music without conditions. The conditions also vary according to time, place and circumstances; further personal equation is a great factor in acceptance or rejection of a *Fatāwa*. It is to be noted that Arabic language has been enriched more by the non-'Arabs than by the 'Arabs, mostly by the Persians, Khurāsānīs, Turks, Egyptians and to a small extent by the Hindūstānīs too. So the *Fatāwa* have been much influenced by the environment of theologians who gave their opinions on the subject of music.

Opinions of the Sūfis are almost a class in favour of music except those of the *Naqshbandia*. The position of the Sūfis in Islām is still one of controversy and they have been often maligned, misrepresented and persecuted. Still, no discussion on any important topic of Islām is complete without the presentation of the Sūfi point of view. No one doubts the sincerity and intellect of the Sūfis like Imām Ghazālī, Sa'd

¹ Introduction to *Minhāj-u'l Tālibīn*.

1957]

Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī and Nizāmuddīn Awliā', yet some of the orthodox groups do sincerely maintain that they blundered into wrong path in their exuberance of love for God. Their viewpoint has been placed with meagre detail only, though volumes could be written on the Sūfī point of view of music.

In conclusion, the circumstances under which music has been held as lawful or unlawful have been narrated. I have placed facts and arguments both for and against music in Islām and it is for the readers to draw their own conclusions from the arguments which have been placed before them. It must be remembered that there is a great deal of difference between Islām and a Muslim. What a good Muslim does is not necessarily what Islām preaches. Volumes may be written on what Muslims have done for music, but that is not my subject. I have discussed the theological aspects of music in Islām within the limitations of the existing prejudices on either side.

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Dr. M. Pickthal's edition is popular with the English-knowing people.

2. *At-Tafsīr* (commentary)—

Commentaries on the Qur'ān are unlimited in number; they are more than a thousand. The most authoritative commentary is *At-Tafsīr u'l Kabīr* by Imām Fakhruddīn Rāzī in eight volumes. Occasionally I have consulted Tabarī, Ibn u'l-'Arabī and Jalālāin. Ḥusainī and Aḥmadī in Persian are commonly used in India.

Commentary by 'Abdul Ḥaq Dehlvi is very popular. Urdū translations by 'Abdul Qādir, Shāh Rafī'uddīn and Shaikhul-Ḥind Maḥmūd a'l-Ḥasan are widely used in India.

In the traditions collected by Bukhārī (*Ṣaḥīḥ-u'l Bukhārī*), chapter on *Kitāb-u't-Tafsīr*; the explanations by the Prophet himself may be consulted for settling differences amongst the commentators and traditionists.

3. *Al-Ḥadīth* (traditions) —

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(d) Ibn Mājah, lithographed edition of Sunan from Lucknow by Muḥammad bin 'Abdullah, 1315 A.H.

(e) At-Tayalisi, Hyderabad edition of Musnad, 1321 A.H.

(f) Abū Dā'ūd, Cairo edition of Sunan, 1292 A.H.

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Imām Shāfi'ī	<i>Kitāb u'l Umm</i> (1321 A.H.).
Imām Mālik	<i>Al Muwaṭṭā.</i>
Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal	<i>Al Masnad.</i>
Muḥammad Amīn	<i>Al Raddu'l Mukhtār.</i>
Abū Bakr bin 'Arabī	<i>Kitābu'l Aḥkām.</i>
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CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS OF MUSIC¹ IN ARABIA

Music is the eternal language of man and the 'Arabs were no exception. The 'Arabs were essentially a musical people. Arabian vocabulary contains a number of words signifying music. The most common words to denote music were *Mūsīqī*², *Samā'* and *Ghinā'*. Hijāz was a land of commercial importance at the beginning of the Christian era. Makkah which was known as *Muqārība* was the centre of attraction for all neighbouring people. Madinah which was called *Yathrib* was the settling ground of the immigrants. These cities formed sort of tribal centres. The *Ka'ba* together with its fair at *Ukāz* was a sort of national rendezvous where 'the poets and minstrels from all parts of the peninsula vied with each other for the supremacy of their art'. It was here that the famous *Mu'allaqāt* (suspended poems) were recited or sung. Singing girls (*qaināt* or *qiyān*) were common in the social life of Arabia. Of their instruments in pre-Muslim days, we have mention of *Mizhar* (lute), *Mi'zafa* (psalter), *quṣṣāba* (flute), *Mizmār* (reed pipe) and *Duff* (tambourine).

¹ The word music has been used to denote songs with or without instruments.

² *Mūsīqī* (موسيقى) is a classic word derived from Greek root and was current in Arabic at the time of Ishāq u'l-Mausli (d. 236 A.H.). The author of *Ikhwānu's Safā'* says that the word came to Arabic language from Greek and forms a part of the science of sound. علم اللحن (*Ilm-u'l Lahṇ*). (Consult the Persian edition *Ikhwānu's Safā'* by

Maulānā Ahmad, a descendant of Imām Ja'far Šādiq, 1304 A.H.). In *Mufātih-u'l 'Ulām* (fourth century A.H.) *Mūsīqī* is one of the four mathematical sciences. *Mūsīq* also denotes the (science of composing) melodies (*al-Lahṇ*). *Mūsīq* is a Greek word and it also means the *Mutrib* (musician). And the composer of the melodies is the *Mūsīqār*. *Ikhwānu's Safā'* says: *Mūsīqī* is *ghinā'*, and *Mūsīqār* is the *Mughannī* and the *Mūsīqār* is the name given to the Greek mathematical theory of music as distinct from *ilm-ul ghinā'* which is the Arabian practical theory of music as we know from *Kitāb-ul Aghānī*. Of course Yahya bin 'Alī bin Abī Maṣṣūr (d. 300 A.H.) made a distinction between Arabian *Ghinā'* and Greek *Mūsīqī*. (Encyclopædia of Islām, III, pp. 749-755.) The author of *Ghiyasu'l Lughat* says that *Samā'* is a Syriac word. (Consult Hughes' Dictionary of Islām, p. 423.)

Regarding *Ghinā'*—the supplementary volume of the Encyclopædia of Islām, p. 81, writes غناء (*Ghinā'*) is a generic term signifying song. Author of *Ikhwānu's Safā'* (Bombay Ed., I, p. 87) says, *Mūsīqī* is *ghinā'* and *Mūsīqār* is *Mughannī* and *Mūsīqāriya* is the instrument of music. In Assyrian, *anah* stands for song; in Hebrew *nehi* is 'to lament' and Arabic *nauh* is a lamentary song.

Samā' is an infinitive like *Sam'* and *Sim'* of the root س - م - ع and means 'learning' often passing for the thing heard, like music; and it also refers to learning music, also sometimes it denotes *istimā'*—listening (Lane, Lexicon, p. 1427 b, 1429 b). It does not occur in the Qur'ān but belongs to old Arabic to mean 'a singing or musical performance'. In lexicography, *Sama'* is what is received on authority as opposed to what *qiyāsi* (analogical). In theology, it is opposed to what is reason ('*aql*). In Sūfi sense, it is opposed to listening to music, singing, chanting, measured recitation, religious emotion, ecstasy (*Wajd*).

<i>Ghinā'</i>	.. song; <i>mughannī</i> —musician, a singer.
<i>Ṭarab</i>	.. music; <i>mutrib</i> —musician.
<i>Lahw</i>	.. entertainment; <i>lahṇ</i> —melody.
<i>Milhā</i> (Milhi)	.. musical instrument; <i>ṣaut</i> —verses set to music or vocal music.

The city of Hira was the repository of the ancient Babylonian-Assyrian culture. The renown of Hira was so great that even Bahram Gūr (430-38^o A.D.) the famous Persian King, when a prince, was sent to be educated; there Bahram was taught music at Hira as a part of his education. Influence of the city of Hira is considerable on Arabic civilization and a distinguishing mark of the importance of Hira was her progress in music and poetry. In pre-Muslim Arabia, soothsayers and enchanters always used their occult powers, whatever they might be, by means of music, and the *Jinn* (devil) was supposed to be brought under control by the influence of music.

In the pre-Islāmic Arabia period the *Hajj* (pilgrimage) to the various *Ka'ba* was accompanied with primitive musical chantings which still survive in the *Tahlil* and *Talbiyya*.¹ (تهليل وتلبية) The verse—*Ashriq thabir kairā nughir*—which is still sung during the *Hajj* on the occasion of *Ifāda* to Minā is an interesting survival of pagan manners.² Poetry and music were closely connected amongst primitive peoples because they had to remember things by means of poems set to music as an aid to memory. Common types of pre-Islāmic Arabic poetry were hymns to idols, songs to beseech for water before fountains and war-songs.

Arab women were conspicuous for their freedom of movement in pre-Muslim days. There was no *hareem* (seclusion). They joined men in their merry parties; enlivened their journey during wars as we find at Uhud (A.D. 625) by singing war-songs.³ In the words of Nicholson, 'wise women inspired the poets to sing and warriors to fight'.

Services of female singers were specially requisitioned for beseeching favour of gods and deities in case of drought and famines. That is why the singing girl was often called *Dajina* or *Madjina* from their habit of singing songs.⁴

Singing girls⁵ were employed in the taverns for the entertainment of visitors. Pre-Islāmic Arabic literature is full of references to these tavern girls.⁶ Arabic literature is full of praise of these singing girls of taverns, and their flowing cups, alluring harps, and delightful cheers. Their influence was utilized by enemies of Islām against the early Muslims to seduce people by singing satires, reproaches and invectives. That is why in the early days of Islām, there are so many references against singing girls, their teaching and professions, and their instruments.⁷

The names of the following musicians have come to us from the famous books of Abu'l Farj Ishfahānī, 'Abd Rabbihī, Al-Mas'ūdī, and from the stray references in the Qur'ān:

¹ Syed Ahmad Khan, *Manners and customs of the pre-Islamic Arabians*, p. 15.

² Encyclopædia of Islām, II, p. 200. *Adhan*, i.e. call for prayer in a particular mode, is a survival of pre-Muslim custom, *Al-Bukhārī*, I, 359.

³ Muir, *Mohammad*, p. 259.

⁴ Nicholson, R. A. *A literary history of the Arabs*, p. 88.

⁵ Farmer, H. G. *Influence of music from Arabic sources*, p. 9.

⁶ Von Krenmer is of opinion, that these girls belonged to Greece and Persia and were not Arabian and that Twaish was the first to sing in Arabia. But this is not supported by *Kitāb-u'l Aghānī*, IX, p. 164. *Hudā'* or caravan song is as old as the Arabian camel.

Ka'ab bin Zubair recited this poem before the Prophet.

Wa māsu'ādu-ghadāt-al bain-ih rahalu
illā aghanna-ghadheedh-qt-tarf-i-makhūlu.

وما سعاد غداة البين اذ رحلوا
الا اغن غضيض الطرف مكحول

⁷ Pre-Islāmic musical instruments were: *mizmār*, *quṣṣāba*, *ṣūr*, *nāqūr*, *tabīe*, *duff*, *sanj*, *jalājil*.

- (1) Naḍr bin Harīth, a descendant of the famous Qusaiy a cousin of the Prophet; he has been referred in the commentaries of the Qur'ān frequently.¹
- (2) Malik ibn Zubair who led a deputation of the Banū Tai' to the Prophet in 630 A.D.²
- (3) Muḥallil ('Adī bin Rābi'a of the Banū Taghlib, who was very famous for his sweet voice.³
- (4) Huraira—a musician in the service of Bishr bin 'Amr.⁴
- (5) Khulaida—a musician of Bishr bin 'Amr.⁵
- (6) Bilal bin Riḡāh al Ḥabashī with whom the Prophet had personal conversation,⁶ ransomed by Abū Bakr.
- (7) Shīrīn, a slave girl of Ḥasan bin Thābit.⁷
- (8) Sarā, who was converted to Islām.⁸
- (9) Quraina, who was executed.⁹
- (10) Qarilya, who escaped death.

Evliya Chelebī, the famous Turki traveller, in his *Travels* has mentioned the names of:

- (1) 'Amr bin Ummaya who played *Dā'ira* at the wedding of 'Alī. He is the same Bābā 'Amr who is regarded as the patron saint of the tambouriné players.
- (2) Ḥamzah bin Yatīm is mentioned as co-singer of Bilāl—the *Muadhdhin* (announcer of prayer) of the Prophet.
- (3) Bābā Sawandik who played the kettlē-drum in military expeditions of the Prophet.¹⁰ He was an Indian.

Retrospect—

On the whole the entire culture of pre-Islāmic Arabia centred round their pleasers, joys, poets, music, singing girls and musical stories. It is no wonder if consciously or unconsciously large part of the social life of the 'Arabs survived' in spite of their acceptance of Islām, as was the case with the Turks, even after their conversion to the faith of Muḥammad.

¹ Muḥammad 'Alī, *Al-Qur'ān*, p. 801, N. 1948.

² *Kitāb u'l Aghānī*, XVI, p. 48.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, p. 422.

⁴ *Al-Ma'sūdī*, III, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Evliya Chelebī, *Travels*, I, II, 91.

⁷ Al Hujwiri, *Kashf u'l Mahjūb*, p. 411.

⁸ Muir, *Mohammad*, p. 411.

⁹ *At-Tabarī*, I, p. 1626.

¹⁰ Evliya Chelebī, *op. cit.*, I (II), 113, 226, 233-234.

CHAPTER II

THE QUR'ĀN AND MUSIC

The Qur'ān is the source of all knowledge of Islām. It is the eternal book of guidance for every follower of the faith. Failing the Qur'ān, one must seek other sources of law such as—the *Hadīth*, *Fiqh* and *Fatāwa*. So far as music is concerned, the supporters of music hold that there is no mention of any word in the Qur'ān, signifying music directly. By implication the Qur'ān has given its verdict on the subject of music. The condemners of music, on the other hand, say that in the Qur'ān there are revelations regarding music and music has been condemned by them. On the whole, both sides find their arguments primarily on the revelations of the Qur'ān. Let us now narrate the arguments on either side.

The supporters of music say that though the word *Mūsīqī*, *Ghinā'* or *Samā'* in the sense of music do not occur in the Qur'ān, yet 'sweet voice' has been commended by the revelations. As such music, which is nothing but 'sweet voice' in its different and varied forms, has been applauded there. The voice of an ass has been condemned—In Surah XXXI, verse 19, the Qur'ān revealed:

إِنَّ أَنْكَرَ الْأَصْوَاتِ لَصَوْتُ الْحَمِيرِ

Inna ankar a'l aṣwāt-i-la ṣawt-u'l ḥamīr.

'Surely the most hateful of voices is the braying of the asses', i.e. here is a negative praise of the 'beautiful voice'; and this beautiful voice is a gift of Allāh, because, 'Allāh has added it to His created beings', as is revealed in the Surah XXXV, verse 1.

يَزِيدُ فِي الْخَلْقِ مَا يَشَاءُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

Yazidu fī khalqī mā yashā' innallāha 'alā kullī shaiyi'n qadīr.

'He increaseth in His creations what He pleaseth', meaning 'beautiful voice'.¹

A verse was often quoted by Al-Ghazālī requiring men to use the embellishments given by God in Surah VII, verse 31, 32.

يَا بَنِي آدَمَ خُذُوا زِينَتَكُمْ عِندَ كُلِّ مَسْجِدٍ ... قُلْ مَنْ حَرَّمَ زِينَةَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي

اُخْرِجَ لِعِبَادَةِ ط

'Attend to your embellishments at every time of prayer' and 'who has forbidden the embellishment of Allāh which He has brought forth for His servants?'² Hearing of the beautiful voice has been permitted by the

¹ 'Abd Rabbīhī, *Iqd-u'l-Farīd*, III, p. 177.

² Al-Ghazālī—*Iḥyā-u'l-'Ulum*, p. 214.

الَّذِي جَعَلَ لَكُم السَّمْعَ وَالْأَبْصَارَ وَالْأَنفُودَ قَلِيلًا مَا تَشْكُرُونَ

*Alladhī ja'ala lakum-u's samā' wal abṣāra
Wal af'idata qalīlam mā tashkurūn.*

Prophet, 'whosoever wishes to hear the voice of David, let him listen to the voice of Abū Mūsā al Ashā'arī'.

Further the supporters of music find an argument in their favour from the commendation of poetry by the Prophet, because 'music is but poetry set to tune'.¹ At the same time the contemners rely on condemnation of poetry by the Prophet as embodied in the Surah XXXVI.

الشعراء يتبعهم الغاؤون

Ashu'arā'u yattabi'uhumul Ghā'ūn.

'Poets are followed by people who have lost their way.' While the contrary is advanced by the other party by referring to a composition of the Prophet himself.

إِنْ أَنْتَ إِلَّا أَصْبَعٌ دُمِيتَ وَفِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ مَا لَقِيتَ

*In anta illā aṣbu'u dumītī
Wa fī sabīlillāhi mā laqītī.*

'Ye the finger, full of blood ye have gone to the way of God.'²

In their opinion the condemnation of poets and poetry was in reference to a particular type of poetry where the Muslims were satirised by singing poetry as in the case of Naḍr bin Ḥarīth.³

But the condemners base their arguments against music on the three verses directly; they are to be found in:

- (1) Surah *An-naġm*, Chap. LIII, v. 61.

أَنْتُمْ سَامِدُونَ

Antūm Sāmidūn.

'While you are inconsiderate' (jesters):

- (2) Surah, *Al-Furqān*, Chap. XXV, v. 72.

الَّذِينَ لَا يَشْهَدُونَ الزُّورَ وَإِذَا مَرُّوا بِاللَّغْوِ مَرُّوا كِرَامًا

*Al ladhīna lā yashhadūnazzūra wa idha marrū bi'l laġhwi
marrū kirāmā.*

'And who do not bear witness to what is false and when they pass by what is vain, they pass by nobly.'

- (3) Surah, *Luqmān*, Chap. XXXI, v. 6.

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَشْتَرِي لَهْوَ الْحَدِيثِ لِيُضِلَّ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ

*'Wa minannās-i-mai yashtārī laḥwal ḥadīthi li yuḍillā 'an
sabilillāh.*

¹ Allāh is that God who has given you the power of audition, the power of sight, the power of understanding, you care not be too thankful to him for these gifts. Ikhwānu's Ṣafā, p. 23. Persian Ed. by Maulāna Aḥmad, p. 304.

² 'Abd Rabbihi—*op. cit.*, 178, says—'poetry was sung evidently'.

³ This verse was composed by the Prophet when blood was coming without a finger of His after a battle.

⁴ Muḥammad Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, p. 801. F.N. 1948.

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‘And of men is he who takes instead frivolous discourse to lead astray from Allāh’s path without knowledge and to take it for a mockery; these shall have an abasing chastisement.’

The prohibitionists interpreted the verse *انتم سامدون* (*antūm sāmīdūn*) as referring to those men who have jeered at the Prophet’s warning by means of music. Husain says (Ref. *Tafsīr-i Husainī*, p. 362) that the contemners of the Prophet were condemned by this revelation and they were commanded to make obeisance to God. *sāmīdūn* is the point of attack on musician.

In this verse (No. 61, Chap. LIII, Sec. 3, Part XXVII) the word *sāmīdūn* means ‘those who have cut jokes’, i.e. inconsiderate. The whole chapter gives a description of Allāh’s power in the destruction of falsehood. The people who have ‘cut jokes’ or have ‘jeered’ when the Prophet described the day of destruction (*qiyāmat*) are commanded to make obeisance to Allāh. The supporters of music says that it is a warning pure and simple. Music has nothing to do with *sāmīdūn*. Maulānā Muḥammad ‘Alī says that many commentators have confounded the meaning of the verse (Ref. Muḥammad ‘Alī, *The Holy Qur’ān*, p. 1020, note 2387). The word *sāmīdūn* does not mean ‘sports’ or ‘music’. Ibn-

‘Abbās writes in his commentary on this verse *انتم سامدون لاهون عده* (*Lāhūna ‘anhu*) ‘do you play jokes by it?’ That means, ‘you should be sorry to hear the message of the day of destruction and instead you have cut jokes’. They are commanded to make submission to Allāh.

Fakhru’d-dīn Rāzī says in his *Tafsīr-i Kabīr*, Vol. VIII, p. 4. (Footnote) on the authority of Ibn-i Ma’sūd—‘Do you make jokes, do you play? Do you take pride?’

Shāh Walī ‘Ullāh interprets—*شما بازی کننده هستید* *Shumā bāzī kuninda hastīd?* i.e. ‘are you all makers of jokes?’

Shāh ‘Abdu’ Qadīr and Shaikhul Hind Muḥammad-u’l Ḥasan interpreted—‘Do you make a play?’

Shāh Rafī‘u’d-dīn interpreted—‘are you careless’ (*غافل ghāfil*) of the day of destruction?

In Ḥaqqānī, ‘Abdul Ḥaqq interpreted—‘are you making jokes?’

He comments: ‘You are in wrong and you are careless. Your days are fleeting and you do not care to know?’

According to dictionary, *sāmīdūn* means *استعزاء* (pride), (joke) and *غفلة* (carelessness). It is used in the sense of ‘joke’. From the context, the word *sāmīdūn* refers to jokes. It has indeed no connection with music.

Al-Ghazālī goes on further when he challenges the interpretation of Ibn-al-‘Abbās, who says that *sāmīdūn* referred to singing in the language of Himyar, meaning ‘lifting up’. Al-Ghazālī says that if *sāmīdūn*—(lifting up)—is unlawful, then ‘laughter’ and ‘lack of weeping’ are also unlawful as all these words have been used in the same revelation; but in fact the last two are not. Al-Ghazālī, therefore, says that this *sāmīdūn* is limited to laughter, mockery, jesting of the Muslims for their conversion into Islām and ridiculing of the Prophet for His message of the day of destruction.

وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَشْهَدُونَ الزُّورَ وَإِذَا مَرُّوا بِاللَّغْوِ مَرُّوا كِرَامًا

Wal ladhīna lā yashhadūn a’z zūra
Wa idhā marrū bil laḡwi marrū kirāmā.

In this verse (No. 72, Chap. XXV, Sec. 6) stress has been laid on the words *az-zūr* by the prohibitionists. It means 'sports', 'lie', 'false' and they have interpreted *az-zūr* (الزور) to refer to 'musical parties of polytheists, Jews, Christians, or their race-courses, or the society of heretics' and the participators 'will have abasing chastisement'. According to the supporters of music, the whole of this chapter gives a picture of the transformation that was brought about by the advent of the Prophet. In fact, the man connected with the right path does not witness what is false. The verse under reference is a description of the conduct of a man who has been connected with right path. The commentary of Muḥammad Ibn Hanāfiyah interprets the words *az-zūr* as meaning 'music' or 'similar things' and he says² that it refers to those present at the society of music. It is not warranted by the meaning that is given in the standard dictionary of Arabic language. The context of the verse does not refer to any such atmosphere which might necessitate any revelation on music.

The commentators have interpreted the word *az-zūr* as 'false'. Ibn 'Abbās writes لَا يَحْضُرُونَ مَجْلِسَ الزُّورِ *La yahdhurūna majlisa'z-zūr*—'one

who does not take part in the party of lies, i.e. where lie is spoken'.

Tafsīr-i Kabīr by Imām Fakhru'ddīn Rāzī says *az-zūr* means 'false' and 'place of falsehood'; and refers to that type of party which throws unhealthy influence on character and which the polytheists and irreligious men attend. Fakhru'ddīn Rāzī opposes the interpretation of Muḥammad Ibn Hanāfiyah who says that *zūr* refers to 'music'. *Tafsīr-i Kabīr* says, 'it is wrong'.³ In this note in *Tafsīr-i Kabīr*, Fakhru'ddīn Rāzī writes on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd that *shāhadat u'zzūr* refers to 'false' witness and association of falsehood.⁴

Shāh Waliu'llāh says that the verse refers to those 'men who do not stand to what is false'.

وَأَنَّا نَكْذِبُ غَوَاهِي دُرُوحٍ نَمِي دَهْدُ

Wa ānān ki gawāhī darūgh namī dihand.

Shah 'Abdul Qādir writes that it refers to him who does not partake to what is false.

Shāh Faridu'ddīn translated the verse as follows:

'they do not bear false witness'.

Shaikhul Hind Muḥammad al Ḥasan in his translation says:—

'those men who do not join in the false affairs'.

Maulānā 'Abdul Ḥaq in his Ḥaqqānī says, 'And those who do not stand false witness'—and in his commentary he distinctly says that it does not refer to music.⁵

From the above translations and comments it is clear that except Ibn Muḥammad Hanifi and Ḥusain, no one says that *az-zūr* refers to music. Further in the subsequent verse in which the word لَغْوٍ *laghū* (evil deeds) has been used to make the meaning clear, *az-zūr* could not be used to signify the same thing. So *az-zūr* has been used in a separate sense meaning 'falsehood'.

¹ Muḥammad Ali's Qur'ān, p. 723.

² *Tafsīr-i Husainī*, p. 119.

³ *Tafsīr-i Kabīr*, Vol. VI, p. 358, Egyptian edition.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 267, Footnote.

⁵ *Tafsīr-i Ḥaqqānī*, Vol. V, p. 236.

The most controversial verse regarding music is of course the revelation in Surah, *Luqmān*, Chap. XXXI, v. 6:

'They do not bear witness to what is false, and when they pass by what is wrong, they pass by nobly.'

The words *lahw-u'l Ḥadīth* (لهو الحديث) has been interpreted to refer to sports, music and similar things. The condemners find their support against music in the interpretations of Ibn Shaiba, Hakim Baihaqī, Ibn 'Abid Dunyā, Ibn Jurair, Ibn 'Abi Hātim, Baghwī, Bukhārī, and of others.

The interpretations of this verse are mentioned below to give an exact picture of the attitude of those scholars.

• Ibn Shaiba said that *lahw u'l Ḥadīth* (لهو الحديث) has a reference to music. He said this on the authority of 'Abdullāh bin Mas'ūd, a great Ṣaḥābī.

و اخرج ابن ابي شيبة باسناد صحيح ان عبد الله بن مسعود سئل عن قوله تعالى ومن الناس ... قال الغناء والله الذي لا اله غيره *

Wa akhraj ibn Abi shaibah bi isnādin ṣaḥīhin anna 'Abdullāh bin Mas'ūd su'ila an qawlihi ta'ālā. wa minannās . . . qāla alghinā' wa Allāh alladhī llāhīl la ilāha ghairuhū.

Hākim Baihaqī on good authority says that *lahwal Ḥadīth* meant music.

و اخرج الحاكم و البيهقي ايضاً هكذا و قال الحاكم صحيح الاسناد

Wa'akhraj al Hākimo wāl Baihaqī aīdan hākaḍa wa qal al Hākimu ṣaḥīhu'l isnād.

Ibn Abid Dunyā and Ibn Jurair on the authority of Sho'aib bin Yasar said, 'I asked Akramah about *lahw-ul Ḥadīth*; he told that it is music'.

و اخرج ابن ابي الدنيا و ابن جرير عن شعيب بن يسار قال سئل عكرمه عن لهو الحديث قال هو الغناء *

Wa akhrajā ibnu Abid Dunyā wa ibnu Jurair 'an shu'aib bin Yasār qāla sa'altu akramah 'an lahw-u'l Ḥadīth qāla huwal ghinā'.

Ibn Abi Hātim once asked 'Aṭā' about the meaning of sentence *waminunās* 'و من الناس'; he said that it referred to music and other unlawful things.

و اخرج ابن ابي حاتم عن عطاء و من الناس ... قال الغناء و الباطل

wa akhrajā ibn Abi Hātim 'an 'aṭā' wa minannās . . . qāla al ghinā' wal bāṭil.

Ibn Abi Hātim on the authority of Ḥasan says that this verse was revealed on the subject of music and instruments.

و اخرج ابن ابي حاتم عن الحسن قال نزلت هذه الآية في الغناء
والمزامير *

*Wa akhrajā ibn Abi Hātim ‘anil Hasan qala
nazalat hādhihi’l āyatu fi’l ghinā’ wāl mazāmīr.*

Ibn Abid Dunyā on the authority of Ibrāhīm says that the verse
Wa minannās . . . was in connection with music.

و اخرج ابن ابي الدنيا عن ابراهيم و من الناس . . . قال الغناء

*Wa akhrajā ibn Abid Dunyā ‘an Ibrāhīm
Wa minannās . . . qāla alghinā’.*

Baghwī on the authority of Sa’yid bin Jobair said that *lahw ul
Hadith* referred to music, instruments and flute.

و اخرج البغوي عن سعيد بن جبير قال لهو الحديث الغناء و المزامير
و المعازف *

*Wa akhrajā Baghwī ‘an Sa’id bin
Jubair qala lahw-ul Hadith, alghinā’ wal
mazāmīr wal ma’āzif.*

Bukhārī and Baihaqī on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās said that *lahw-ul
Hadith* was music and similar things.

اخرج البخاري في " الادب المفرد " و البيهقي في سننه عن ابن
عباس " لهو الحديث " هو الغناء و اشباهه *

*Akhrajā Bukhārī fi’l adabi’l mufrad wal
Baihaqī fi sonanihi ‘an ibn ‘Abbās lahw-ul
Hadith hu al Ghinā’ wa ashbāhū.*

Ibn Abid Dunyā and Ibn Mandhar on the authority of Mujāhid
said that *wa minannās* . . . meant music and every other kind of
sports and games.

اخرج ابن ابي الدنيا و ابن المنذر عن مجاهد " و من الناس . . . "
قال هو الغناء و كل لعب و لهو *

*Wa akhrajā ibn Abid Dunyā wa ibnu’l Mandhar
‘an Mujāhidin wa minannās . . .
qāla hual ghinā’ kullo la’yebīn wa lahu*

Hāfiz Abū Muḥammad in his book ‘*Umdatul Qāḍī*—a commentary on
Bukhārī—has written:

احذروا الغناء فانه من فعل ابلis و هو شرك عند الله تعالى و لا تغنى
الا شيطان *

*Ihdharu’l Ghinā’ fainnahu min fi’li Iblis wa huwa
shirkun ‘ind’allahī Ta’āla walā taghannū illā Shaitān.*

‘Save yourself from music. It is a characteristic of Iblis ; it is polythe-
ism before God. No one has sung but Shaitān.’¹

¹ Quoted in *Rafiu’l Ghinā’*, p. 7.

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Tibrani and Khatib Baghdādī said:

نهی رسول الله صلعم عن الغناء و الاستماع عن الغناء

Naha Rasūlullāhi Ṣal'am

'anī'l *ghinā* wal iṣṭim ā'anī'l *Ghinā*'.

That shows that the Prophet has prohibited music and its audition.

These traditions have been tested by eminent scholars like Muḥammad

‘Alī bin Shawkanī and have been found to be (ضعيف) *daif*—weak. ‘Abdūl

Ḥaḡ Dihlwi says that the prohibition of music in general was a command at the beginning of Islām as was the prohibition of jar. The jar was condemned because people used to drink wine in jars. So it was prohibited because of its association with wine. Similarly, according to him, music was also prohibited because of its association with dancing girls and wine.

The opposite view has been solemnly held with equal emphasis by the supporters of music like Al Baydāwī, Aḥmadī, ‘Abd Rabbīhī, Imām Ghazālī and others.

They hold that this verse in the Surah *Lugmān* has a context without which its meaning is not clear. The verse was revealed when one Naḡr bin Hārith, a non-Muslim, came back from Persia with a story of Rustam and Iṣfandiyār. He used to recite the story in music amongst the members of the Quraish tribe and seduced them from Islām (i.e. led men away from the right path). The burden of his story was—‘Muḥammad was reciting the story of ‘Ad, Samūd and Sulaimān and of their exploits, I am telling you the story of the great heroes of Irān’. The ‘Arabs were natural lovers of music and the sweet voice of Naḡr bin Hārith was a great attraction for the unsophisticated ‘Arabs. It was on this occasion that this revelation came. Further, the use of the definite article ال before the word حديث gives a further clue to the meaning. So the common noun (حديث) has been made particularized (ذهن) by the use of the article ال. It is that kind of story which led men astray which has been condemned (ليضل عن سبيل الله) *li yuḡḡilla ‘an sabīlillāh*. So it is an occasional commandment and cannot be taken as a general revelation to be applied universally.

Further in the Qur’ān there are such instances of occasional commandment. Take for instance the revelation regarding ‘poets and poems’. One of the verses of the Qur’ān has condemned music:—

الشعراء يتبعهم الغاؤون

Ash shu‘arāu’ yattabi‘uhum u’l ghā‘ūn (Surah *Ash-Shu‘arāu’* الشعراء)

(XXVI, v. 224) means, ‘And as to the poets, those who go astray, follow them’. This verse was revealed when the poets of the *Jāhiliyya* period used to lead the people astray by the charms of their poems. Otherwise the Prophet contradicts himself when He Himself employed an official poet named Ḥasan ibn Thabit to denounce his enemies. ‘Pour out the raid against them’, He says to Ḥasan, ‘for Allāh, your poetry is more potent than the falling of arrows in the darkness of dawn’.¹

The Prophet himself composed a poem for a bridal occasion.

¹ ‘Abd Rabbīhī, *op. cit.*, III, p. 178.

آتَيْنَاكُمْ أَتَيْنَاكُمْ فَحَيَّانَا وَحَيَّاكُمْ

Atainākum atainākum

Fahayyānā wā hayyākum.

I have come to you, I have come to you,
Let God grant me long life and to you.

‘Āyisha said, ‘the companions of the Apostle used to recite poems before one another in His presence and He used to smile’.¹ On the authority of his father, ‘Amr bin Ash-Sharia said, ‘I recited before the Prophet a hundred verses of poetry of ‘Umayya bin Abi’l Ṣalt to all, He kept on saying, ‘go on’. Then he said, ‘he has almost become a Muslim in his poetry’.² ‘Āyisha quoted another *Hadīth* which says, ‘Teach your children poetry, which will sweeten their tongue’.³

If these facts are true, then the revelation in the Surah *Ash-Shu‘arā* as quoted above cannot be reconciled unless it is taken as one revealed to meet a particular occasion; or to solve a particular problem. Such instances may be quoted in large number to show that there are occasional revelations in the Qur’ān meant to meet the need of time.

So the supporters of music say that the verse in the Surah *Luqmān* referring to *lahw* *Hadīth* is a revelation which has come on the occasion of Naḍr bin Harīth’s musical recitations.

Again *lahw* (لَهْو) does not always refer to a ‘bad thing’ and cannot always be discarded under all circumstances. Take for instance the verse of the Qur’ān

أَنَّمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا لَهْوٌ وَلَعِبٌ

Innamal ḥayatu’d dunya lahwun wa la‘ib.

i.e. ‘the life of the world is nothing but *lahw* and *la‘ib* (sports and play). But in fact no one gives up life, nor things connected with life such as food, drink, dress, marriage, etc., because they are *lahw* and *la‘ib*. Why then should sports and play be given up unless they lead men astray (li yuḍillāh ‘an sabillilāh)? So *lahw* is not to be discarded always. Music too (which even if it be taken in the sense of *lahw*) is not to be discarded unless it leads men astray as was done by the music of Naḍr bin Harīth.

‘Leading men astray’ has been explained by Ibn Qu’t by an example: one of the hypocrites used to act as Imām to the people and would only recite the Surah ‘*Abasa* on account of the rebuke of the Apostle of God which it contains, the reference in that the Surah LXXX of the Qur’ān begins with ‘*Abasa wa ta walla* (عَبَسَ وَتَوَلَّى), i.e. (he frowned and turned away), which is attributed to the Prophet repelling a blind man. For this recitation, He is rebuked by Allāh in the Surah and the Hypocrite (*munaḥḥiqūn*) played the same part in Medina as the Libertines in Geneva of Calvin. Thus the Imām tried to keep alive the memory of Allāh’s rebuke of the Prophet. Once ‘Umar thought of killing him, and regarded this action of the Imām as unlawful on account of ‘leading men astray by reciting a part of a *Surah*’. This is in fact ‘leading men astray’ by poetry and singing, which is to be regarded as unlawful.

¹ J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 207.

² *Kitābu’l Aghānī*, III, pp. 189–92.

³ ‘Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 178.

The supporters of music draw a conclusion from the style that has been prescribed for reading the Qur'ān. Muslim, a great *Muḥaddith* says,

تَغْنِي بِالْقُرْآنِ

*Taghannī bi'l Qur'ān.*¹ (recite the Qur'ān in tune)

In the introduction of book, *Ilm-u'l Tajwīd*, which deals with the faculties of human voice and elocution, several ways have been prescribed for recitation of the Qur'ān which all signify that the Qur'ān must be recited in a beautiful voice.

• In Surah *Muzzammil*, it has been revealed:

وَرَتِّلِ الْقُرْآنَ تَرْتِيلًا

Wa rattili'l Qur'āna tartilā.

'And recite the Qur'ān with chanting.'

In fact there is a science in the recitation of the Qur'ān and there are seven (some say ten) ways of reading it. When a man attains perfection in recitation, he is called *Qārī* and he is respected. The language of Qur'ān is wonderful; it is adaptable to tune and rhythm and has not been surpassed in Arabic literature. Anyone who hears the recitation from an expert in a *Milād Sharīf* may feel the music in the verses of the Qur'ān. 'Umar felt troubled at the thought that the verses of the Qur'ān should be recited otherwise than in a melodious voice.²

Retrospect:

From the evidences and interpretations advanced by the supporters and condemners of music from the Qur'ān, it is difficult to assign the place of music in Islām exactly. The Qur'ān has not made it neither *ḥarām* nor *ḥalāl*, i.e. neither condemned nor permitted.

Let us now look to the personal conduct of the Prophet and His sayings, if anything direct may be found directly dealing with music.

¹ *Sirāju'l Wahāj*, commentary on Hadīth.

² Ibn Sa'd. *Tabaqāt-u'l Kabīr*, Vol. V, p. 42. Of the commentaries, the most celebrated one is by Imām Rāzī and the other by *Durr-u'l Manşūr*.

CHAPTER III

THE ḤADĪTH AND MUSIC

In Islām, sayings and actions of Muḥammad (Peace be on Him) are to be followed most solemnly, though between the Revelations of the Qur'ān and the sayings of the Prophet, the former have to be preferred. It is also a fact that the Prophet never did or said anything which a Muslim could not do or say—so do the orthodox hold. Now let us examine what the Prophet did or said regarding Music in the light of the Ḥadīth.¹

Ibn Mājah has narrated on the authority of Ḥaḍrat Anas, a personal servant of the Prophet—once the Prophet was passing through the street of Madinah when some girls of Najjār tribe greeted Him with a song accompanied with *Duff*.

نحن جوار من بني نجار يا حبذا محمد من جار

Naḥnu jawārin min banī Najjār
Yā ḥabbadḥa Muḥammadum min jār.

'We are girls of the tribe of Najjār; what a blessing it is to be a neighbour of the Prophet.'

The Prophet congratulated the girls on their performance. It is to be noted here that the Prophet heard music of welcome; the music was accompanied with *Duff*; it was not a festive occasion.

Tirmidhī says, once the Prophet was returning from a short war. One woman appeared before him for service and told, 'I desired that I shall play on *Duff* and sing a song of welcome when you will return from war.'

¹ The following are the Ḥadīth (Traditions) regarding music:

Music—

It is forbidden to instruct, or buy or sell slave girls as singers—*At-Tirmidhī Buyū* 12th Book, 51st bab (Chap.), Cairo Edition, 1292 A.H., in 2 volumes.

The demonic character of music—

At-Tirmidhī—4th Book (*Manāqib*), 17th Chap. (bab), Zaid bin 'Alī's *Majmū'at Fiqh* by E. Griffin Milao, No. 1919, I, Vol. 1003. Tradition. Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal Vol. III, p. 449. Cairo Edition of the Musnad, 1313 A.H., 6 volumes.

Music at a wedding party—

Bukhārī, 67th *Kitāb* on *Nikāh*, 48th Chap. *At-Tirmidhī*—9th Book on *Nikāh* 6th Chap.

Al-Nasa'ī—26th Book on *Nikāh*, 72nd Chap. Egyptian Edition of 1312 A.H.

Ibn Mājah—9th Book on *Nikāh*, 21st Chap. Lithographed edition of *Sunan* from Lucknow by Md. bin 'Abd Allāh, 1315 A.H., Vol. I.

Al-Tayalisi Tradition, No. 1221 in the Hyderabad Edition of the Musnad, 1321 A.H., Vol. I.

Marriage should be publicly announced by music—

At-Tirmidhī, 9th Book, 6th Chap.

Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, Vol. IV, p. 5.

The Prophet puts His fingers on His ears when He hears music—

Abū Dā'ūd, 40th Book on *Adab*, 52nd Chap. Cairo Edition of the *Sunan*, 1292 A.H., 2 volumes.

Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, Vol. II, pp. 8, 38.

Punishment of him who sings or causes others to sing—

Zaid bin 'Alī—Tradition, No. 1001.

Kind of musical instruments forbidden—

Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, Vol. II, pp. 165, 172,

for kinds of music allowed or prohibited.

safely'. The Prophet ordered, 'fulfil thy desire'. The girl sang one of the finest songs of welcome in Arabic language.

طلع البدر علينا من ثنيات الوداع وجب الشكر علينا ما دعا لله داع

Tala'al badru 'alaynā min thaniyāti'l wadā'
Wajab ash shukru 'alynā mā da'a lillāhi dā'.

'The moon of the 14th night has come upon us from the skirt of the mountain. It is incumbent on us to offer thanks as long as people call men to God'.

This song definitely proves that a welcome song may be permitted.

Tabarānī narrated in his *Ma'jami Kabīr* : معجم كبير

'One day a lady appeared before the Prophet. He asked 'Āyisha if she knew that lady. 'Āyisha replied in the negative. The Prophet introduced the lady as a songstress of a tribe famous for music. 'Āyisha expressed her desire to hear her song. Then followed a song by the lady.' On hearing the song the Prophet remarked: 'certainly *Shaitān* has blown into her nostrils.'

قد نفخ الشيطان منخرها

Qad nafakhash Shaitānu minkharaihā.

The prohibitionist draws a different conclusion from this remark of the Prophet. They hold that this saying definitely associated music with *Shaitān*. As such music is unlawful.

On the other hand Maulānā Wahīu'ddīn Nu'mānī in his *Rafī'u'l Ghinā'*¹ says that this interpretation of the word *Nafakh* refers to excellence of the songstress. (*Nafakh* means 'excellence', 'pride' as given by 'Umar in his *Tafsīr* on this *Hadīth*.) According to the learned Maulānā, the Prophet has compared the excellence of the musician with the perfection of *Shaitān* as an artist. *Shaitān* is the founder of various kinds of arts, such as cooking of meat, egg and preparation of wheat.² But egg, meat and wheat have not been condemned because they are the inventions of *Shaitān*. Even if music were invented by *Shaitān*, there is no necessary connection with unlawfulness and *Shaitān* as cause and effect.

Finally, Maulānā Wahīu'ddīn says that if by the remark the Prophet intended any condemnation, why should he ask the musician to sing. He would be inconsistent if he asked the musician to sing and then condemn the singer. So the remark was intended to praise the excellence of the artist.

Al Bukhārī relates a story:

'On the day of *Bu'ath*, 'Āyisha was enjoying a song of some Anṣār girls in presence of the Prophet who was lying on his bed. Abū Bakr on entering the room rebuked them for playing the instruments of *Shaitān* in the house of the Prophet. *Mizmār-ush Shaitāni fi bait-i Rasūl Illāh*

مِزْمَارُ الشَّيْطَانِ فِي بَيْتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ. The Prophet remonstrated the protest; He said, 'don't disturb them'.

دَعَوْنَ يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ فَإِنَّمَا أَيْامٌ عِيدٌ

¹ *Rafī'u'l Ghinā'*, p. 27.

² *Shihabuddin's Qalyubi*, story No. 26.

*Da'ḥunna yā Abū Bakr
fa innahā ayyāmu 'Id.*

'Give her up, oh Abū Bakr. This is the day of 'Id.' After this the Prophet took rest. But 'Āyisha winked her eyes and they departed.¹

This proves that not only 'Āyisha, but the Prophet too did hear music on festive occasions and that too in company with others. Further, the Prophet did not like that any body should protest against this type of enjoyment in festivities.² This is clear command of the Prophet which has not been negatived subsequently.³

The oppositionists hold that this Ḥadīth prohibited music, and that there was no music after the protest.

Now what was the motive of Abū Bakr in this remonstrance? Certainly it was because the Prophet was taking rest. Even if the Prophet was taking rest, he allowed music as it was an occasion of 'Id. That the remonstrance of Abū Bakr had a reference to the Prophet's rest is proved by 'Āyisha not allowing the song after the permission.

In *Kitāb-u'n Nikāh*, Ibn Mā'ajah narrates—'Āyisha who was very kind to orphan girls, arranged the marriage of a girl with a boy of Anṣār tribe. Anṣār tribe is very famous for its love of songs.

When 'Āyisha informed the Prophet of the marriage, he enquired about the list of presents sent with the girl. On hearing the list, the Prophet regretted that no musician had been sent along with the girl, because the Anṣār tribe was extremely fond of music. Then a few musicians were sent. The Prophet himself composed a beautiful song for the occasion:

إنا النبي لا كذب إنا ابن عبد المطلب

*Anān Nabīu lā kadhib
Anā ibn 'Abdi'l Muṭṭalib.*

'I am certainly a Prophet. There is no doubt about it. I am the son of 'Abdul Muṭṭalib.'⁴

This story demonstrates that music in marriage is permissible. Ḥāfiẓ Naqī'uddīn Muḥammad, son of Shaikh u'l 'Ālam Muḥiyu'ddīn 'Alī has discussed this point in his famous *Swanaḥ*. He supported music and instruments because music gave publicity to marriage by *Nikāh* which is different from *Zinā* (incest) or clandestine marriage. Music in marriage has been supported by Muḥammad bin Ḥatīb on the ground of social necessity.⁵

One Ḥadīth says:

فرق بين الحلال و الحرام ضرب الدف و صوت في النكاح

*Farqun bainaḥ ḥalāl wal ḥarām
ḍarbu'd duffi wa ṣautun fi'n nikāh.*⁶

Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad bin Tāhir in his *Sifat-u't Taṣawwuf* related a story regarding 'Umar and Music. 'Umar, the second Khalifah, was indeed a

¹ *Tajrīdu'l Bukhārī*, Chapter on 'Id, p. 210.

² 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 178.

³ *Kimīā'-i-Sa'ādat*, p. 219.

⁴ *Sahīḥ Ibn Habbān* (Hadīth).

⁵ Imām Aḥmad bin Hanbal, Vol. IV, Musnad, p. 5 (Cairo), Al-Tirmidhī, 9th Book, *Nikāh*, 6th Chap. Ibn-i Mā'ajah, 9th Book, *Kitāb-u'n Nikāh*, 21st Chap. of *Sunan*, Lucknow Ed., 1315, Vol. I and Sahibain, Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, 48th Chap.

⁶ *Tanbih* by Faqī Abu La'ais Samarqandī.

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very stiff man of a sterner stuff. Tibrānī narrated that once 'Umar cried out, 'the price of a singing girl is *ḥarām* (unlawful)'. In the *Mishkāṭ*, an incident in connection with 'Umar has been mentioned as follows:

Once in presence of 'Āyisha some girls were singing with *Duff*. Suddenly 'Umar appeared and the girls got nervous and they hid their *Duff*. The Prophet, who was present there, promised protection to the girls. 'Umar argued that music was the art of *Shaitān* and could not be lawful. The Prophet laughed and silenced 'Umar. Later on even 'Umar following the example of the Prophet enjoyed music (Al Hujwiri, p. 401).

In his commentary on the *Mishkāṭ*, Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Dihlvi says that on the authority of the above *Ḥadīth*, not only music but music with instrument is also lawful.

It is narrated of 'Abbās ibn Mālik that the Prophet 'used to make him sing the *hudā* (caravan song) when travelling and that 'Āyisha used to sing it for the women and Bara ibn Mālik (brother of Anas) for men".¹

'Once Muḥammad entered the house of Rubayyī' bint Mu'awwidh where some girls were singing. On the arrival of the Prophet, one of them remarked, "And with us is a Prophet, who knoweth what will be tomorrow". Muḥammad (Peace be on Him) replied, "Leave off that and say what thou wast saying" (singing)."²

Imām Ghazālī in his famous work *Kīmīā' Sa'ādat* related a story which is very significant.

Once an Abyssinian musician appeared in presence of the Prophet on the occasion of 'Īd. The Prophet asked 'Āyisha if she liked to enjoy music. On 'Āyisha giving assent, the Abyssinian was called in. The place of performance was the Prophet's own house. The mosque of the Prophet was adjacent to his house. The courtyard of the house of the Prophet and that of his mosque was the same. In fact, the performance took place in a sacred place—*ḥareem*. The Abyssinian acrobat sang and danced and 'Āyisha enjoyed it for a pretty length of time.

Imām Ghazālī has drawn various conclusions from this incident. Firstly, the occasion was one of 'Īd. So music was permissible on festive occasions.

Secondly, the appearance of the musician was not accidental. So the enjoyment of music was deliberate because the Prophet himself arranged the performance for 'Āyisha.

Thirdly, the songs continued for a long time and as such the permission of the Prophet might be accepted as a sort of continued affair and not an occasional incident.

Imām Ghazālī interpreted that time, place and companions (*Zamān*, *Makān* and *Akhwān*) all positively testify to the sanction of music so far as the personal example of the Prophet was concerned.³

Some prohibitionists (*munkir*) opposed music after the example of the Prophet. They cite the disapproval shown by the Prophet to Shīrīn, the handmaid of Ḥasan ibn Thābit whom he forbade to sing.⁴ Some say that even if the Prophet ever heard music he never did it in *Majlis*, so music in party is unlawful, because 'nothing should be done in a way for which the Prophet had not set an example'. If that view is to be accepted, Maulāna 'Abdul Bārī says, in his *Iḥqāqu's Samā'*, that no subscription should be raised for building a mosque because the Prophet had never done so. Really Islām permits changes according to time and circumstances as the Qur'ān has enjoined more than once.

¹ Al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

³ *Kīmīā' Sa'ādat*, pp. 220-221.

² *Ibid.*, p. 743.

⁴ *Islamic Sufism*, p. 278.

Ibn Abid Dunyā on the authority of Mas'ūdī says in his *Dhammūl Malāhī* (ذم الملهي)

قال الغناء ينبت النفاق في القلب كما ينبت الماء البقل

Qāla al-Ghinā' yunbitu'n nifāqa fi'l qalbi
Kamā yunbitu'l mā u'l baqla.

The Prophet has said, 'song brings out tension in the heart as water germinates grass'.

The same writer is responsible for another tradition of the Prophet:

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لعن الله المغنية والمغنى له

Qāla Rasūlullāhi ṣallallāh-u 'alayhi wa ṣallama
la'anallah'l mughanniata wal mughannā lahu.

The Prophet has said that Allāh cursed the singers and those for whom songs have been sung.¹

Here both the audience and musician have been condemned. Tibrāni and Baghwī said:

نهي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عن الغناء والاستماع عن الغناء

Nahya Rasūlullāhe ṣallallāhu 'alayhi
Wa ṣallama 'anil ghinā'i wal istimā'i 'anil ghinā'.

The Prophet has prohibited music and audition of music.

On the whole from the correct traditions (*Saḥī Hadīth* as they are called) the following conclusions have been drawn by Wahīu'ddīn, in his²

جواز السماع :

- (1) Welcome songs are permitted.
- (2) Women are permitted to sing. (Non-professional.)
- (3) A wife may be afforded the pleasure of music.
- (4) Music is a factor of difference between marriage and *Zinā* (clandestine marriage).
- (5) A non-Muslim like an Abyssinian acrobat may be permitted to sing in the house of a Muslim though there may be a mosque near by, and if it was not time of prayer.

¹ At-Tirmidhī, 46th Book, *Manāqib*, 17th Chap.

² *Jawāz-u's-Samā'*, p. 7.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORTHODOX KHILĀFAS AND MUSIC. (A.D. 632-661)

The *Khulāfau'r Rāshidīn* (first four Khalifas):

- (1) Abū Bakr, A.D. 632-634.
- (2) 'Umar, A.D. 634-644.
- (3) 'Uthmān, A.D. 644-656.
- (4) 'Alī, A.D. 656-661.

During the period of the first four Khalifas (A.D. 632-661) the laws of Islām were sought to be followed both in spirit and letter. The letter of the law was supplied by the Qur'ān and the spirit was imported by the interpretations of the companions of the Prophet—the *Ṣaḥābīs*. Even at the early period of Islām, not a few held that music was a subject for which there was no direct revelation and it did not fall within the prohibition or permission of the *Sharī'at*. Ameer 'Alī says, 'music was not proscribed until the later jurists came on the scene'.¹

Abū Bakr (A.D. 632-634) looked upon music as *Malāhī* (ملاهي) 'forbidden' and interdicted it. Al Bukhārī is responsible for a tradition that Abū Bakr took exception to his daughter 'Āyisha enjoying music and that he reproached singing girls as 'Devil's agents'.² Aṭ-Ṭabārī informed us that, after the submission of Al-Yaman in A.D. 633, two singing girls named Thabjā al Ḥadramiyya and Hind bint Yāmīn had their 'hands cut off and their teeth pulled out, so that they could neither play nor sing' by Muhājir and that the action was commended by Abū Bakr. The prohibitionists, on the authority of this instance, declare that Abū Bakr was definitely against music. While the supporters of music say that the punishment was given not because these girls were musicians but because they had sung songs satirizing the Muslims with the accompaniment of *Mizmār* (reed-pipe).

In the contemporary social life, employment of singing girls (*Qaināt*) by noble and rich families could not be stopped altogether, though public singers in the taverns were not permitted to pursue their vocation officially. Singers of elegies (*nā'ih*, fem. *nā'iha*) could be seen in open places because elegy (*nauh*) was not considered as music in the sense of *Ghinā'*.

'Umar (A.D. 634-644) is said to have realized the spirit and letter of the laws of Islām and he was 'the best-lived Muslim', 'sitting on the steps of the mosque at Madina eating his barley bread and dates' though commanding the best amenities of life. After the Prophet he stands out as the most prominent personality amongst the Muslims. His sayings and actions have furnished examples to many followers of Islām. 'Umar was essentially a puritan and the views of his early life were pronouncedly against music. His very presence was an object of consternation amongst the loose people. There are many stories current even today regarding his views on sports and easy life. There is a well-known story that 'Umar flogged some *Ṣaḥābī* who used to hear music.³ In the *Mishkāt*, it is told that once 'Āyisha was enjoying music of certain girls with *Duff*, the very presence of 'Umar' on the scene put consternation into the minds of the

¹ Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, p. 457.

² *Tajrid u'l Bukhārī*—Chapter on 'Id, p. 210.

³ Ikbāl, *Islamic Sufism*, p. 278.

girls and they hid the *Duff*. But they were protected by the Prophet as has been mentioned by Imām Ghazālī.¹ Abū Faqih u'l Hamadānī related that on one occasion 'Umar heard slave girls playing their tambourines and singing, and he upbraided and cudgelled them for this.² Two nobles of the 'Quraish were branded by 'Umar as 'asses' because they heard singing and one of them was 'Asim bin 'Amr.

It seems that 'Umar started with an anti-music bias but subsequently his opposition cooled down when he noticed the conduct of the Prophet in relation to music. Al-Hujwiri in his *Kashf-u'l Mahjūb*³ narrated a very well-known *Hadīth* which runs as follows:

'Āyisha tells—

'A slave girl was singing in my house when 'Umar asked leave to enter. As soon as she heard the steps of 'Umar, she ran away. 'Umar entered and the Apostle smiled. "O Apostle of God", cried 'Umar, "what hath made thee smile"? The Apostle answered, "a slave girl was singing here, but she ran away as soon as she heard thy step". "I will not depart", said 'Umar, "until I hear what the Apostle has heard". Hence the Apostle called the girl back and she began to sing, the Apostle listening to her.'

This may explain the subsequent stories which are related by the supporters of music regarding 'Umar. Ibn Khālikān says, 'once when 'Umar was abroad he heard the sound of a tambourine. 'Umar asked what it was; and when he was told that it was merry making at a circumcision; it is distinctly stated that the Khalifah held his peace'.⁴ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi related, 'Umar, when he heard a man sing, added—may Allāh forgive you for it'.⁵

It seems that 'Umar really opposed all kinds of laxities, and music was a laxity and was treated as *Malahī* (forbidden). The reason is clear. In the days of the *Jāhiliyya* period (days of ignorance), the only pleasures of an 'Arab life were wine, women and music. Girls were sold in the market and the price of the girl was determined by her capacity for music and dance. Prof. Lammens quoted, 'notoriety of the singing girls of the taverns had brought forth such terms as *Mughanniya* (female musicians), *Sannaja* (female *sanj* player), *Zammara* (female *Zamr* player) becoming synonyms for courtesans and adulteresses'.⁶ The traditions of the early days of Islām refer to innumerable narrations regarding singing girls, instruments of music and dance. The Prophet is said to have told:

بُعِثْتُ وَ أُمِرْتُ لِمَحْوِ الْمَعَازِفِ وَالْمَزَامِيرِ

*Bu'ithu wa umirtu limaḥwil
Mu'azif wal mazāmīr.*

'I have been sent and commanded to destroy music vocal and manual (instrumental).'

Baihaqī said, 'do not sell a singing girl; do not purchase a singing girl; do not teach her music; because this trade is not good and the price is *ḥarām* (unlawful). Ibn-i Abid Dunyā in his book *Makā'id u'sh Shaitān* definitely said, 'instruments of music and songs have been made by

¹ See *ante*, p. 68.

² Ibn-u'l Faqih, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabiorum*, p. 43.

³ Al-Hujwiri—*Kashf-u'l Mahjūb*, p. 401.

⁴ Biographical Dictionary, Vol. I, p. 359.

⁵ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd-u'l Farid*, III, pp. 178-179.

⁶ Lammens, III, p. 235.

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Shaitān. Anas, a *Ṣaḥābī*, who was a personal servant of the Prophet is responsible for a tradition—'one who sits near a singing girl and hears her song will have his ears filled up with zinc on the day of judgment'. In *Mishkāt* (chapter on trade), we are told that dancing girls should not be an article of trade:

لَا تَبِيعُوا الْقَيِّنَاتِ وَلَا تَشْتَرُوا قُلُوبَهُنَّ وَلَا تَعْلَمُوهُنَّ

*Lātabī'u'l qaynāti wa lā tashhtarūhunna
wa lā tu'allimū*

'Don't purchase singing girls, nor sell them. Don't teach them (unlawful lessons).'¹

Mishkāt even went so far as to find a context of the verse *Waminannās lahwa'l Ḥadīth* in the dancing girl and music. 'Umar was always very hard when he referred to dancing girls and always mentioned dancing girls with music.

ثَمَنُ الْقَيْنَةِ سُحْتٌ وَغَنَاءُهَا حَرَامٌ

Thamanu'l qainati suḥtun wa ghinā'uhā ḥarām.

'Price of the singing girl is unlawful and her song is *ḥarām*.'

It is not, therefore, surprising that 'Umar should give a general verdict against music connecting it with dancing girls. Ḥāfiz Muḥammad bin Taher in his book *Merits of Sufism* on the authority of 'Abdullāh bin 'Alī Mālikī said that 'Umar was at first against music but when he found the Prophet hear songs, he changed his views and his opposition was slackened.²

With 'Uthmān (A.D. 644–656) the real empire of Islām and imperialism in Islām began. The conquest of Persian and Byzantine empires ushered in new elements into the daily life of the 'Arabs. Wealth flowed in, palaces were built up, rich dishes were served and singing girls formed a part of the daily life of a wealthy 'Arab. Al Māwardī says that 'Uthmān enjoyed music and this is supported by the author of *Al Biyān*. Professional musicians and singing girls were common. The most famous male musician of this period was Twaīs and female singer was 'Azzau'l Mailā'. The favourite musician of 'Uthmān was Abū Sajjād.

The condemners of music rely on a saying of 'Uthmān—

'I have not sung nor have I lied.' Here singing was made as bad as lying.³ According to this singing is to be prohibited.

'Alī (A.D. 656–661) the fourth of the orthodox Khalīfas was an accomplished composer and a patron of the fine arts and was the 'repository of the Prophet's wisdom'. He possessed an excellent voice though he found fault with Mu'āwiya for keeping singing girls.⁴ 'Alī refused to allow Ḥasan to have a look at an Abyssinian girl who used to sing and he branded her as a Devil's mate.⁵

Retrospect of the period of the Khulafā-u'r-Rāshidīn

That music survived in spite of the ban, there is no doubt; considerable progress was made and a number of famous musicians and singers have

¹ At-Tirmidhī, 12th Book, *Buyu*, 51st Chap.

² Al-Hujwīrī, *Kashf-u'l Mahjūb*, p. 401.

⁴ Sardar Ikbal, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

³ *Lisān u'l 'Arab*—S. V.

⁵ Al-Hujwīrī, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

been mentioned by Al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī,¹ and Abū Faraj Isfahānī. This survival of music was due to certain favourable circumstances, namely influx of money, importation of slaves, interest displayed by the upper class in music, musical traditions of old Madina, the city of *Anṣārs* (helpers), who were famous for their love of music. It seems that the 'Arabs delighted in war and they were serving the cause of Islām by war, and their moments of rest were enlivened by songs of the imported slaves and sounds of the rings of the dancing girls. The prisoners from Persia often attracted the attention of 'Arabs by their national melodies. Nashit, the great Persian slave, had a wonderful voice and soon he became the craze of the nobility. Nashit was imitated by the most eminent musicians of the day such as 'Azzau'l Mailā'. The Persian style was copied by Sā'ib Khāthir who himself was followed by Nashit in Arabic style. Result was a fusion of two systems, Persian and Arabian, known as Ghinā' u'l mutqān.²

Important musicians in the days of the first four Khalifas—

(1) Tawais (the little peacock)—His full name was 'Abu al Munā'am 'Isā ibn 'Abdu'llāh al Dha'ib Makhzūm—a resident of Madina. He was favoured by the mother of Khalifah 'Uthmān. Tawais was rather an outcaste because of his being a Mukhannāth, though nobility showed favour upon him in abundance. Marwān, governor of Mu'āwiya (A.D. 661-680) in Madinah, hounded Tawais out and he had to seek shelter in Suwaida near Syria. He passed his last days there with all the bitterness of a refugee. Amongst his pupils may be mentioned Ibn Suraij, Dalāl Nafidh, Naumau'd Duḥā and Fand.³

(2) If Tawais was the most important male singer of the period, 'Azzau'l Mailā' (died in A.D. 705) was the most important amongst the female group. She had extremely beautiful features and was of mixed birth. She was a pupil of Rā'iqa in Arabian style and of Sā'ib Khāthir in Persian style. *Kitābu'l Aghānī* says⁴—that during the Khilāfat of 'Uthmān, no musical party was complete without her presence and performance. Tawais says that she was the 'Queen of singers'.

(3) Sā'ib Khāthir (died in A.D. 683), also known as Sa'ib ibn Yassar, was of Persian origin and a slave by birth.

(4) Nashit was a Persian slave of 'Abdu'llāh bin Ja'far and was later on manumitted by his master and he was responsible for introduction of Persian melody in Arabic.⁵

(5) Hunain, though an 'Arab, was a Christian. He was a contemporary of 'Uthmān and has been freely mentioned in the time of 'Abdu'l Mālik (A.D. 685-706). He was an excellent performer and ranked as the fourth singer of Islām. Others like Aḥmadu'l Nasibī of Kufa, Qand of Madinah and Dalāl ad Nafidh of Madinah have been eloquently mentioned in the contemporary literatures of the early Islām.

We hear of musical parties during the period of Khulāfa-i-Rashidīn such as were held in the house of 'Azzau'l Mailā' and Sakina bint Husain in which most eminent musicians, poets and artists took part.⁶

¹ 'Abd Rabbihī, *op. cit.*, III, p. 198.

² Farmer, H. G., *Facts for Arabian Musical Influence*, p. 53.

³ *Kitābu'l Aghānī*, II, pp. 170-176.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 55.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 61, Vol. V, pp. 161-164.

⁶ *Kitābu'l Aghānī*, Vol. XVI, p. 14.

CHAPTER V

THE *ṢAḤĀBĪS* (COMPANIONS) AND MUSIC (IN THE LIGHT OF *HADĪTH*)

In Islām the *Ṣaḥābīs* or the Companions of the Prophet are held in great esteem by the Muslims. The *Ṣaḥābīs* narrated the events of the life of the Prophet. They were 'fortunate' because they had the privilege of direct knowledge of the Prophet and His Revelations; they were inspired by His personal touch. So whatever was done by the *Ṣaḥābīs* deserve to be imitated without any hesitation unless they were against the Qur'ān or contrary to the conduct of the Prophet himself. Besides the words of God, or the sayings of the Prophet, they had the advantage of observing His personal actions. It is held that what was left ambiguous in words, was often explained by the actions of the Prophet. His Companions were the witnesses to that great movement of change which was imitated by the son of 'Abdu'llāh and Amināh. Thus the *Ṣaḥābīs* are not only object of reverence but are to be treated as authorities in religious matters because of their association with the Prophet.

Similar is the position of the *Tābi'īn*. *Ṣaḥābīs* are those that kept company with the Prophet and *Tābi'īns* are those that kept company with the *Ṣaḥābīs*. So *Tābi'īns* are also treated as authorities though not as respectfully as the *Ṣaḥābīs*.

Of the *Ṣaḥābīs* the most important ones are:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq .. | The 1st <u>Khalifah</u> , father of 'Āyisha, a wife of the Prophet. |
| 'Umar Fārūq .. | The 2nd <u>Khalifah</u> , a father of Habsa, a wife of the Prophet. |
| 'Uthmān Ghani .. | The 3rd <u>Khalifah</u> , a son-in-law of the Prophet, husband of Ruqqaia. |
| 'Alī Murtaḍā .. | The 4th <u>Khalifah</u> , a son-in-law of the Prophet, husband of Fātimah. |

Abū Ubeidah bin Jarrāh

Sa'd bin Abī Waqqās

'Abdur Raḥmān bin 'Auf

Zubair ibnu'l Awam

(They are called 'Ashrah Mubāshsharah, they are amongst the Blessed

Ten after the first four Khalifas, Khulafā-u'r-Rāshidīn.)

'Uqbah bin 'Umar Ansāri.

Bilāl (personal servant of the Prophet).

'Abdu'llāh bin Arqam.

Usāmāh ibn Zaid.

Ḥamzah (uncle of the Prophet).

'Abdu'llāh bin 'Umar Fārūq (son of the 2nd Khalifah).

Barā Ibn Mālīk.

Qarzah bin Ka'b.

'Abdu'llāh bin Zubair.

Ḥawāṭ bin Zubair.

Nu'mān bin Bashīr.

'Abdu'llāh bin Ja'far.

‘Āyisha (wife of the Prophet), bint Abū Bakr.
Mu‘āwiyah bin Abi Sufyān.

Of the *Tābi‘īns*, the most important ones are:

Amīr Shabī.

‘Abdu’llāh bin Mu‘tamir bin ‘Atīq.

‘Umar bin ‘Abdul ‘Azīz.

In our chapter on *Music and Khulāfau’r-Rāshidīn*, the attitude of the first *Khālifas* have been given and also their personal examples.¹ Ḥaḍrat ‘Āyisha, daughter of Abū Bakr and a wife of the Prophet, had the greatest opportunity of having the most intimate knowledge of the Prophet. It is clear from the traditions that she loved music and enjoyed it both with and without instruments. She is regarded as an authority by the Muslims of all creeds except by the Shī‘as. She enjoyed music on ‘*Id* days², on marriage festivities³ and on other days for mere joy.⁴ Her opinion is clear on music though she is responsible for a tradition that—‘verily Allāh hath made the singing girls (*qainah*) unlawful, and the selling of her and her price and teaching her’.⁵

‘Abdu’llāh bin ‘Umar Fārūq has narrated a story in which the practice of the Prophet has been described. It is told that once the Prophet was going with ‘Abdu’llāh bin ‘Umar when he heard ‘a sound of music’. At once the Prophet placed his fingers into his ears. So following the Prophet, the son of ‘Umar also put his fingers into his ears. The prohibitionists say that this was a clear evidence of the prohibition of music by a personal example of the Apostle. But the supporters say that this Ḥadīth is not authentic. Lulue, a Muḥaddīth, says that Abū Dā‘ūd who narrated this Ḥadīth himself discarded it. Abū Muḥammad bin Ḥazm testified to the falsity of this Ḥadīth.⁶

Most of the *Ṣaḥābīs* enjoyed music and many of them were excellent singers and reciters. The great *Ṣaḥābī* ‘Abdu’r Raḥmān ibn ‘Auf enjoyed music, so said Ibn Shaibā. Baihaqī said that Ḥaḍrat Abū ‘Ubaidah bin Jarrah the great conqueror and Abū Mas‘ūd Anṣārī enjoyed music. Bilāl, the Mu‘adhdhdhin of the Prophet, enjoyed music as has been mentioned by Imām Ghazālī. Here is a list of the *Ṣaḥābīs* who enjoyed music.

Name of the Ṣaḥābī	Authority of the information
Sa’d bin Abi Waqqāṣ	.. Ibn-i Abī Qutaiba.
Qarzah bin Ka’b	..
‘Abdu’llāh bin Arqān	.. Ibn-i Tāhir.
‘Uṣāmāh bin Zaid	..
Ibn ‘Umai
Barā bin Mālīk	.. Abū Na’im.
‘Abdu’llāh bin Ja’far	.. Ibn ‘Abdul Bar.
‘Abdu’llāh bin Zubair	.. Abū Tālib. Makkī.
Mughaira bin Shu’ba	..
Ḥasan Abul Farah.

¹ See *ante*, pp. 71-72.

² Al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

³ ‘Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 176.

⁴ Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁶ The *Mishkāt*, Book XXII, Chap. IX, Part 3; Abu Dā‘ūd, 40th Book on *Adab*, 52nd Chap. of *Sunan*; Ahmad bin Ḥanbal, *Masnad*, Vol. II, pp. 8, 38.

'Abdullāh bin 'Umar	.. Zubair bin Kibar.
Khawāṭ bin Zubair	.. Abu'l Faraj Iṣfahānī.
Amar' bin al 'Āṣ	.. Māwardī.
Zubair	.. Bukhārī.

Abū 'Abdu'r Raḥmān as-Salamī in his book called *Kitāb u's Samā'* has collected a large number of traditions with the names of the *Ṣahābīs* who enjoyed music. On the other hand Ḥazm, Ibn Tāhir, Ibn Abid Dunyā, Ibn Hamadānī 'Arabali and Dhahabī have collected some Ḥadīth where the names of those who opposed music have been narrated. Mubārak author of *Tadhkiratu'l Bukhārī* and Muḥammad 'Alī bin Shawkanī have tested these Ḥadīth which condemned music, and they have been found to be weak. Shawkanī in his book *Ibatale dowa-il-ijmah ala Tahazime Mullaq u's Samaa'* argues that neither of the four great Imāms nor Muḥtāhids like Dā'ūd nor Sūfian have discussed these anti-music Ḥadīth; had these traditions been authentic they must have been discussed. This is an indirect proof of the weakness of these traditions. Abū Bakr bin 'Arabi in his *Kitābu'l-Aḥkām* claims that he had collected all the traditions which have condemned music as *ḥarām* and declared that some of them are false, a few not tenable and many weak. Ibn Tāhir says that not one of the Ḥadīth advanced against music can stand the test of critical examination. 'Alā'uddīn al Qunbī says in his commentary on *At-Ta'ruf* that not one of the anti-music traditions is correct. Abūl Qāsim, a Muftī of Maghribī (Mālikī), says in his commentary on Abū Yazīd that no Ḥadīth is directly against music. This has been supported by Fākihānī:

كَمْ أَعْلَمَ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَ لَا فِي السُّنَّةِ حَدِيثًا صَحِيحًا صَرِيحًا فِي
تَحْرِيمِ الْمُلَاهِي *

*Lam a'lamu fi kitābi'llāhi Ta'ālā walā fi's sunnat
Ḥadīthan ṣaḥīhan ṣarīhan fi tahrīmi'l malāhī.*

'I have not found anything direct in the book nor in the character of the Prophet nor in any tradition which is against music.'¹

Of the *Tābi'īns* who enjoyed music, the following are important:—

- (1) Sa'īd bin Al Muṣāib.
- (2) Sa'īm bin 'Abdullāh bin 'Umar.
- (3) 'Abdu'llāh bin Hishām.
- (4) Sa'īd bin Zubair.
- (5) 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz.
- (6) Muḥammad bin Shiha-uz-zuhri.
- (7) Sa'd bin Ibrāhīm Aj-Jaharī, Qāḍi of Madīnah.
- (8) 'Atā bin Ribāḥ.
- (9) Kharijah bin Zaid.
- (10) 'Abdu'llāh bin Āṭiq.
- (11) Shuraiḥ Qāḍi.
- (12) Amīr ush Sha'bī.

Of the *Tabi'-Tābi'īns* who enjoyed music, hundred names may be mentioned.

¹ *Jawāz-i-Samā'*, p. 17.

CHAPTER VI

THE *FIQH* (JURISPRUDENCE)Four Imāms and Music. (*Aimma u'l-Arba'*)

The great four lawgivers of Islām are Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal. They are all Sunnis though Imām Mālik is recognized as an authority by the Shī'as too. Their discourses are known as *Fiqh*; the status of *Fiqh* in Islām is next to that of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. Their interpretations of Shari'ah and Ḥadīth are treated as authoritative by even the most orthodox. Their personal actions and practices are recognized as precedents which a pious Muslim may follow without remorse. Now let us examine what was told and practised by these 'pillars of Islām' regarding music.

It is peculiar that both the prohibitionists and supporters of music draw their arguments from the writings of these Imāms.

To Abū Ḥanīfah has been ascribed an important assertion in his *Fiqh*:

وَدَلَّتِ الْمَسْئَلَةُ عَلَى أَنَّ الْمَلَاهِي كُلَّهَا حَرَامٌ حَتَّى التَّغْنِي بِضَرْبِ الْقُضَيْبِ *

*Wa Dallatī'l mas'alatū 'alā annal malāhī kullahā ḥarāmūn ḥattā at-tagħannā biḍarbi'l qaḍīb.*¹

'This discussion proves that surely melody—all of them are unlawful (*ḥaram*) if it be with instruments.'

Similar pronouncements may be found in the decisions of Imām Shāfi'ī, Imām Mālik and Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal. Imām Shāfi'ī says, 'singing is a sport which is disliked, and which resembles to what is false; he who meddles too much with it, is light of understanding, you shall reject his testimony'.

Imām Mālik says, 'When a man buys a slave girl and finds that she is a singer, then it is a duty to send her back'.²

The opposition group says that this judgment clearly prohibits music.

On the other hand, the supporters say that the above judgment has been clarified by the personal action of the great Imām. Had the sentence warranted general condemnation, the Imāms would not have themselves heard music. The words *قول* (*qawl*) and actions *فعل* (*fi'l*) of the Imāms must be considered together. They quote the occasions when the great Imām participated in music.

'Allāma 'Abdul Ghānī Nabulisi Ḥanafī in his famous book *As Samā'* says that Imām Abū Ḥanīfah personally enjoyed music and related a story. A man named 'Amr who lived near his house had an excellent voice and used to sing every night. Once Abū Ḥanīfah found that the sweet voice of 'Amr was not coming from the house of his neighbour. He enquired about his silence. On being told that 'Amr was in prison, at once Imām Abū Ḥanīfah went to the house of the governor and requested for and secured release of the musician.

¹ Hamilton, *Hidāyah*, Vol. III, p. 453.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 198-202.

Once Jahīz, the great writer, directly asked Abū Ḥanīfah whether music is lawful or not. 'Allāma Mulla 'Alī Qārī Ḥanafī says that the Imām passionately spoke in its favour.

Hidāyah quotes: 'If a person breaks a lute (or *tabour*) or pipe, or cymbal belonging to a Muslim, he is responsible, because the sale of such article is lawful.'¹

Imām Abū Yūsuf and Imām Muḥammad, the two great disciples of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, who are called *Muḥammadain* did enjoy music in imitation of their great teacher. Further, Abū Yūsuf was always present in the musical soirées in the court of Khalīfah Ḥarun-a'r Rashīd of Baghdād. In his famous work *Kashf*, Abū Yūsuf says that Abū Ḥanīfah used to enjoy music at night. Qādī Muḥammad bin 'Alī Shawkanī and Abū Rūh Ḥanafī enjoyed music following Imām Abū Ḥanīfah.

In his famous history of Baghdād, Kātib Ḥāfiz Abū Bakr Baghdādī has narrated a long story that Imām Mālik enjoyed music. Once a man was passing through the street in front of Imām Yūsuf's house singing a song in wrong tune. Imām Yūsuf came out of his house and corrected the tune. Ibrahim bin Sa'd Zahīrī of the Mālikī school was a staunch supporter of music following his master.

'Abdul Haq Dehlvi in his *Madār-i-ju'n Nubuwwat* on the basis of the story of Yūnus bin Abdul 'Alā says:

خوش داشتن غذاء علامت سلامت طبع و حسن است و ناخوش داشتن
آن نشان اعوجاج طبیعت و نقصان حسن و از این جا معلوم میشود که دایلی
شرعی بر حرمت و کراهت آن نیست *

Khush dāshtan-i Ghinā' 'alāmat-i salāmat-i ṭaba'
u his ast, u nā khush dāshtan ān nishān-i a'wījā'
ṭabī'at u nuqṣān-i his u az in jā ma'lūm mi shawad
ki dalīl-i shara'i bar ḥurmat u karāhat-i ān nist.

'To enjoy music is a sign of healthfulness and sensibility; to dislike it is a sign of ill disposition and loss of sense. From this, it is clear that there is no religious proof of music being unlawful and hateful. . .'

Imām Shāfi'ī in his famous work *Kitāb-u'l-umm* spoke in favour of music. Imām Ghazālī in his note in *Kimīā'i-Sa'ādat* on *Kitāb-u'l-umm* says that Imām Shāfi'ī was definitely in favour of music. Abū Manṣūr Baghdādī says that Imām Shāfi'ī's School was generally in favour of music. Yūnus bin 'Abdu' 'Alā asked Imām Shāfi'ī about music and Imām Shāfi'ī replied that he had never found any body in Hijāz opposed to music.²

Imām Shāfi'ī says that it is not unlawful to hear music from a woman whom it is not prohibited to look at, either in one's own house or in the house of a friend; of course, if it does not disturb *Namāz*, or prevent a man from doing his work as a witness, if the music is not concerned with prohibited things. Abū Tayyab saīd, 'a man may listen to a woman who is not within the prohibited degree of kinship, but it is unlawful according to the Shāfi'ī law equally whether she is in plain view or behind a curtain, whether she is free or slave'. Further he says, 'If the possessor of a slave girl and other men together listen to her, he is light in understanding; you shall reject his testimony'.³

A story is told by his son regarding the audition of music by 'Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal—'Once my father was supposed to have been asleep; I began to

¹ *Hidāyah*, Vol. III, p. 558.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 199-200.

² *Iḥqāqu's Samā'* by 'Abdu'l Bārī, p. 5.

have a song by Ibn-i Khabādah. But soon I heard the sound of steps upstairs. I went up and found my father enjoying the song in ecstasy.

A similar story has been related by another son. 'Abdú'l Haq in his *Maḍār-i ju'n Nābawwat* says on this authority that if music was really against *Sharī'at*, Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal would have never enjoyed it. But there is no doubt from the conversation with his daughter that he was not in favour of each and every kind of music. Mūlla 'Alī Qārī Ḥanafī says that the four Imāms and the Mūjtahidins enjoyed music.¹

Imām Abū Ḥanīfah prohibited participation in a dinner following marriage in which there were 'mere sports', that is, dancing and music. On this authority some interpreters of the Ḥanafī School prohibit music as is found in *Fatāwai' khairiyah le naf'yail' bariah* 'alā madhhabī Imām Abū Ḥanīfah. It is, on the other hand, mentioned in *Fatāwa Itabiya* that once Imām Yūsuf, great disciple of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, was asked about the permissibility of music. He replied in the affirmative. Similar view was expressed by Imām Muḥammad and Abū Yūsuf, the two great disciples of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah. *Tatārkhāniah*, a famous book of injunctions, sanctioned permissibility of music without reserve. *Sayir-i Kubūr* definitely spoke in favour of music as enjoyed by the Prophet.

On the whole, Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi'i and Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, in course of their investigations into Ḥadīth, have not mentioned any saying of the Prophet which condemned music as unlawful unreservedly. 'Allāma Qāḍī Muḥammad bin 'Alī Shawkanī in his book *Ibtāl-i da'wā-i'lijma 'alā tahāzīmī muṭlaqī's samā'* says that if there were any authoritative Ḥadīth which condemned music, they must not have escaped the attention of those four careful Jurists of Islām.

On the other hand, Maulāna Ashraf 'Alī in his *Haqq-u's-Samā'* has given a summary of the opinions expressed by different legists known as Fuqahā as follows:² *Durr-u'l Mukhtār*, a book of the school of Abū Ḥanīfah, says that the testimony of a musician is not acceptable.

On the authority of Qāḍī Khān, he says that one who makes a flourish of his musical skill is not to be relied upon.

Ibn Mas'ūd says that songs plant evil in the heart as rain produces grass on the soil.

Al Muḥīt says 'it is unlawful to sing, to clap hands and to hear them'.

Nihāya says, 'it is unlawful to sing, to clap hands, to play on *Mizmār*, *Barbat*, *Duff* and other instruments'.

Imām Ḥalwānī has been cited as an authority by the author of *Tatār* as a great condemner of music.

In *Kifayah*, a commentary on *Ḥidāyah*, it has been said 'Music is unlawful for all sects'.

In the Qur'ān even whistling and hand clapping are scornfully treated.³

Whatever might have been the juristic decisions on particular incidents connected with music given by the Imāms, their personal practices sufficiently illustrate that music under certain circumstances was treated as permissible and that music was not unconditionally banned. The supporters of music draw a parallel between the condemnation of 'poets' by the Prophet and his personal enjoyment of poetry (such as from Ḥasan bin Thābit) as well as between the condemnation of music by the Imāms and their personal enjoyment of the same. It is only circumstances that make a thing *halāl* or *karām*, otherwise the قول and فعل of the Imāms cannot be reconciled.

¹ Quoted in *Jawāz-i-Samā'*, pp. 10-11.

² *Haqq-u's-Samā'* by Ashraf 'Alī, p. 3.

³ Qur'ān—Surah VIII, Vol. V, p. 35.

CHAPTER VII

THE 'ULAMĀ' AND MUSIC

The position of the 'Ulamā' is a peculiar one in Islām. The word 'Ulamā' comes from the root 'A-l-m (ع-ل-م), it is the plural of 'ālim (a learned man). The body of learned men is called 'Ulamā'. The Qur'ān is written in Arabic and it is a difficult language where dots play a prominent part; mere transposition of one dot or one vowel point of *Zir*, *Zabar*, *Pish* (ـ - َ - ِ) changes the entire meaning; it rested with the learned men versed in Arabic to give the interpretation of the *āyats* (verses) of the Qur'ān. Hence, as interpreters of the Qur'ān, they were looked upon as authorities. Further, they were supposed to be 'keepers of Tradition' and they were the jurists of the *Khalifas*. The fundamental authorities of Islām, i.e. the Qur'ān, *Hadīth* and *Fiqh*, were all written in Arabic and it is to the learned men that common people looked up for guidance. Undoubtedly, a fourth authority of Islām is the *Fatāwa*, i.e. Pronouncement or Consensus of opinion. The opinion of the Brotherhood was practically guided by the interpretations and pronouncements of the learned men.

The Qur'ān has said:

لأولى العلم درجات

Li'ulī'l 'Ilmi darajāt

'For the learned men, are the great positions before me.'

The Prophet said:

علماء امتي كانبيا بني اسرائيل

'Ulamā' ummatī kanbiyāi banī Isrā'īl

'The 'Ulamā' amongst my followers are equal to the Prophets of the Isrā'īl.'

Thus fortified, the 'Ālim or the 'Ulamā' have attained a peculiar position of sanctity in Islām.

The early *Khalifas* of Islām maintained a department of the 'Ulamā'; they had to consult the 'Ulamā' at least twice a week. It was a part of the structure of the *Khilāfat* to have 'Ālim and *Muftī* to expound laws.¹ Scholarships, stipends in cash or kind were assigned to them. The *Khalifah* was to meet them occasionally and discuss matters of religion with them.

The members of the department of *Qāḍī* were generally recruited from this class of the learned men; the *Muftī* or the expounders of the *Shari'at* was a close preserve of the 'Ulamā'. So, as judges and interpreters of law, they attained additional dignity. The position of the *Qāḍī* or the 'Ulamā' was so dignified that they could invoke royal interference even against provincial governors or *kutwāls* in the name of the Sacred Law. There are instances when kings had to seek the assistance of the 'Ulamā' in times of

¹ Nizāmu'l Mulk, *Siyāsāt Nāma*, p. 54.

danger by securing Fatāwa against their enemies. Bābur had to face such a difficult situation against the verdict of the 'Ulamā'.¹ Aurangzeb utilized the services of the 'Ulamā' against Dārā Shikūh.² Prince Akbar got a Fatāwa against Aurangzeb when the former was in revolt.³

In Arabia, Hārūn-a'r-Rashīd utilized the services of Imām Yūsuf, disciple of Abū Hanīfah, to find a background for his acts of the state which were not strictly in accordance with Islāmic canons. In the struggle for succession to the Khilāfat, the 'Abbāsids were backed up by the theologians and they sought to find a background of their political power in the interpretations of their 'Ulamā'. This explains the cause of the additional support which the Khalifas gave to the 'Ulamā' in the 'Abbāsīd period. In fact, it was a matter of mutual recognition, admiration and support for mutual convenience. Again, when the political power of the 'Abbāsids began to wane, the Khalifas sought to maintain the decaying structure of their Khilāfat by an appeal to the religious sentiment of the Muslims. Thus what was loss to the 'Abbāsids in politics was a gain to the 'Ulamā' in religion. Moreover, when the political power of the 'Arabs in Islām was transferred to the Turks, the 'Arab element in Islām was preserved by the Arabian 'Ulamā' as was the case with Roman Catholic popes and bishops after the collapse of the Roman Empire and transfer of their political power to the Teutons.

The Muslim 'Ulamā' was looked upon as their guide by the theological class in all other parts of the Islāmic world and special stress was laid on learning Arabic which was the language of Muslim religion. The difficulty of the language was an advantage to the 'Ulamā', of course, as it was with bishops of Christianity who were the repository of Hebrew before the Renaissance. But, in Islām, this influence of the 'Ulamā' continues till today.

Attention to theology was a peculiar feature of Islāmic culture. Theology always formed an important part of the main course of study for every student. No education was complete without a thorough grounding in theology. Mosque being the centre of learning and library in Islām, the Imām or the Mu'adhdhin took a leading part in the curricula of study. As such the influence of religion in the development of Muslim mind is clearly marked. As has been told already, the scope of difference in the interpretations of Arabic language offered always a fruitful source for the growth of sectarianism amongst the theological class.

Respect for holy authority (الاسناد المقدس) is another notable feature of Islām. Whatever the learned men said was treated as something sacrosanct and sacred. Greater the prestige of the 'Alim, the greater the respect of his pronouncement—therefore, the language of the pronouncement became more dictatorial. Fear of punishment was always brought to bear upon the unsophisticated Arabian mind in the early days of Islām in the name of religion. In the name of the preservation of Islām, the position of the 'Ulamā' was often used, abused and misused for personal reasons by the theologians. One positive effect of this tendency of mind led to the growth of different sects in Islām.

So far as music was concerned, the 'Ulamā' gave their verdict in no uncertain terms, and each had his authority to support his view. Besides the Qur'ān and Hadīth, the Fiqh supplied very fertile sources of injunction of the 'Ulamā' in every part of the Islāmic world. Maulānā 'Abdu'l Haq

¹ Rogers, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 687-688.

² Qanungo, *Dārā Shikūh*, pp. 400-401.

³ Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, p. 197.

Dehlvi in his famous book, *Madārijū'n Nabuwwat* (Events of the life of the Prophet), correctly divided the opinions of the learned men on music under three heads:*

(1) The *Muḥaddith* (the writers of Ḥadīth)—No revelations in the Qur'ān nor any saying of the Prophet, according to him, has been found to condemn music unconditionally. He says that the Qur'ān or Ḥadīth has not made music *ḥarām* and therefore it is *ḥalāl*. He has held music to be *ḥalāl* because anything not condemned as *ḥarām* is *ḥalāl* for

وَأَحَلَّ لَكُمْ الطَّيِّبَاتِ

Uḥilla lakumu't tayyibāt.

'I have made all good things *ḥalāl* for you.'

Therefore, it may be concluded that all things which have not been condemned as *ḥarām* particularly, are to be treated as *ḥalāl*. And music has not been condemned particularly.

(2) The *Fuqahā'* (the legists)—They have generally opposed music. They branded the supporters of music as *Kāfir*, *Zindīq* or *Mulhid*. But some of them have enjoyed music personally though they have not permitted music for each and every follower. It seems that they laid stress on the personal capacity of the performer and of the audience.

(3) The *Sūfis*—They generally support music and some of them have included music into the system of religion specially the *Chishtīas*. Though the *Naqshbandias* are against music, their condemnation is not unqualified.

After discussing the viewpoints of these three classes, 'Abdu'l Haq Dehlvi has supported music and that with instruments too. He has found an argument in the word of God as embodied in the Qur'ān:

الَّذِينَ يَسْتَمِعُونَ الْقَوْلَ فَيَتَّبِعُونَ أَحْسَنَهُ

Al laḏhina yastami'ūna'l qawla fayattabi'ūna aḥsanah.

'They are good who hear voice (قول) and choose the best.'

According to the learned Maulānā, this verse has sanctioned the audition of voice; and it is desired that the best be chosen. So music, which is nothing but voice in different tunes and rhythms, may be heard and the best may be chosen. Some Mullās interpreted the word *Qawl* (قول) as the 'Word of God'. The verse quoted above, according to the prohibitionists, referred to the hearing of the Word of God and not word of man. If this interpretation be accepted, then, as Maulānā 'Abdul Haq Dehlvi says, 'they offer a choice between the Words of God, but in reality each and every Word of God is acceptable. Therefore, according to Him, *Qawl* refers to every kind of word or voice and right of discrimination has been allowed to the individual; *Qawl* is to be taken in a general sense.

'Abdu'l Haq Dehlvi asks in his *Nikātu'l Haq*:

جاهل کیست؟ آن کہ مطلق سماع را با ہر حال در وقت از ہر اندک

و بیش حرام داند و فاسق آن کہ مطلق سماع را حلال داند *

*jāhil kist? ān ki mutlaq Samā' rā bā har
hāl dar waqt az har andak u bish ḥarām dānad
wa fāsiq ān ki mutlaq Samā' rā ḥalāl dānad.*

'Who is ignorant? He is ignorant who interdicts music as *ḥarār* under all circumstances, he is a *fāsiq* (sinner) who regards it as *ḥalāl* under all circumstances.'

But this view is not shared by the theological class generally. Mullā Nizāmu'ddīn Muḥammad Sahalwī, author of *Munāqib Rizzāqiah*, writes:

بدانکه در استماع سرود اختلاف فقها است امام شافعی و شمس الآئمه
سرخسی از فقهای حنفیه و شیخ ابو یزید بسطامی و شیخ ابن عربی رضوان
الله تعالی علیهم اجمعین قائل بحل اند و تفصیلش در موضع است *

'Know ye, the diversity of opinion on music and its audition; Imām Shāfi'i and Shamsu'l Āyamma Sarakhsī of the Hanafī School, Shaikh Abū Yazid Bistāmī, Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī declare music as lawful in their commentaries.'

Shah Waliu'llāh, author of the great book *Hujjatu'llāhil Balighah*, and Shāh Rafiu'ddīn the first to translate the Qur'ān into Hindustānī have made enough investigations into the position of music in Islām and have upheld it as lawful.

Imām Ja'far Sādiq, a saint of the time 'Alī Murtazā, spoke in favour of music.

Ibrāhīm bin Sa'd Zahīrī says that those who oppose music do not know the life of the Prophet and of the Ṣaḥābīs. He has condemned prohibitionists as 'dry' (یابس).

Shaikh Abū Tālib Makki says, 'those who cast aspersion on music, do so at the cost of seventy Sādiqs'.

Hadrat Nūr Qutbi 'Ālam Pandwī, a great scholar of the time of the Slave Kings, wrote in his *Mūnisu'l Fuqarā*,¹ a discourse on the permissibility of music and dance.

Maulānā Muḥammad Shāh 'Abdu'r Razzāq in his commentary on 'Umdatul Wasāyil says:²

پس التزام شنیدن غناء هر مرید لازم نیست چه هر کس لیاقت آن ندارد
حل آن شروط است بچند شروط و یافته شدنش در همه کس غیر ممکن و آن
شروط اینست که در آن رغبت بدنیا و ذکر فواحش و طریق لهو و لعب
و محفل فساق و مجمع نسوان نباشد و سامع از اهل نفس نباشد و شدنش
بظاهر فقر و ریا نباشد و اظهار و بد بدروغ نه نماید و تا بمقدور ضبط کرده باشد
و قلبش پر از عشق خدا باشد که غناء مسکن قلب او باشد چه نغمه را تأثیرات
است کثیره پس اگر این شروط در ذات خود جمع دارد پس او را مباح است
و چون شیخ او التزام سماع میدارد و او جامع الشروط پس التزام آن اولی است
و بدون اجتماع شروط حرام لکن در این زمان جامع الشروط نادر الوجود است

¹ Chapter XXVII, on *Samā'*, *Wajd wa Raqṣ* (Music, Ecstasy and Dance).

² Pp. 283-284.

1957]

لهذا فقها حكم بحرمت آن داده اند مطلق و فی الحقیقة ليس هكذا بل لاهلها
 حلال و لغيرها حرام *

'It is not incumbent on every Murid to hear music as a matter of necessity because every one does not possess the same capacity. Its permissibility depends on conditions. It is impossible to get those conditions fulfilled in every man. These are the conditions: the audience should not be addicted to the world; he should not think of unholy things; he should not be on the way of sports and plays; he should not be associated with the sinners; he should not be in company of women. The hearer must not be materialistic. The audition should not be a matter of pride and display. There should not be false ecstasy; it should be controlled. His heart should be filled with love of God because music is an "address of God". Music produces great influence. For him who satisfies all these conditions, music is good (*mubāh*). If his preceptor always hears music and the disciple fulfils all the conditions, it is good for him to hear music always. With the fulfilment of these conditions, audition of music is lawful. But in these days it is extremely rare to fulfil all these conditions; so the theologians have given a general verdict of its being unlawful. For him who is fit, it is always lawful, and for him who is not fit, it is always unlawful.'¹

Following him a modern author Ashraf 'Alī Thānvī in his *Haqqu's Samā'* says that the conditions which have been prescribed on the performer are so stiff and hard that music cannot be permitted for all and sundry.

In India, music was formally permitted by Maulānā Qāḍī Hamīdu'ddīn Nāguri and Minhāju'ddīn Jurjānī gave it a solid foundation. Farīdu'ddīn 'Aṭṭār says:

اما حق تعالى قاضي حميد الدين ناگوري را عشق کامل و علم وافر
 کرامت ظاهر داده بود باین وجه صدر جهان آن وقت قاضي منهاج الدين
 جرجاني که در علم و فضل و لطائف فهم مثل نداشت صاحب سماع بود *

*Amma Haqta'āla Qāḍī Hamīdu'ddīn Nāguri rā 'ishq-i kāmīl
 Wa 'ilm-i-wāfir karāmat-i zāhir dāda būd bain wajha
 ṣadr-i-jahān ān waqt Qāḍī Minhāju'ddīn Jarjānī ki dar
 'ilm wa faḍl wa latāyifi faham mithl nadāst ṣaḥīb-i Samā' būd.*

'However, God gave love of God and extensive knowledge for this reason. Sadr Jāhān Qāḍī Minhāju'ddīn who had no equal in knowledge, in learning and in good disposition, was the master of music and heard music.'

J. A. Subhan tells in his *Sufism and its Saints and Shrines*:²

'By the influence of Qutubuddin the custom of holding music festivals became extremely popular in India. The orthodox at Delhi petitioned the King Iltutmish to put a stop to music by exercising his royal prerogative; but he was embarrassed on the one hand by his loyalty to Qutubuddin and on the other hand by his regard for the law of Islām, adopted a strictly neutral attitude in the matter. But the popular feeling triumphed over the orthodox opposition and music became popular in India.'

¹ *Iḥqāq u's Samā'*, by 'Abdu'l Bārī, p. 7.

² A. Sobhan, *Sufism and its Saints and Shrines*, p. 215.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SHĪ'AS AND MUSIC

The Shī'as are those Muslims who believe that the authority of Islām lies in the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth (so far as they accept), and in the life and doings of the twelve Imāms. They refuse to have anything to do with the first three Khalifas, namely Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, who, according to them, were usurpers; real claim to the khilāfat belonged to 'Alī, son-in-law of the Prophet, and his descendants. This is the cardinal view of the Shī'as—which is not generally accepted by other sects. After the twelve Imāms, they hold that there was no khilāfat and it ended with the collapse of the regular descendants of great 'Alī. They quote verses from the Qur'ān and refer to Ḥadīth to prove that Imāms were created by God and that they came with 'divine light and inspiration'. As such Imāms were infallible; they hold that Imāms were against music.

The Shī'as hold music unlawful because 'Alī found fault with Mu'āwiya for keeping singing girls. 'Alī never allowed Ḥasan to look at the Abyssinian woman who used to sing; he called her 'the devil's mate'.

The supporters of music say that this remark of 'Alī is a particular one and refers to a singing girl. Moreover Tafsīr of Jalālāin says:

قل للمؤمنين ليغضوا من أبصارهم و يحفظوا فروجهم

*Qul li'l mūminīna la yaghūḍu min
abṣārihim wa yakhfazu furūjahum.*

'Oh Prophet, tell the Mūminīn that they shall make their sight below; and honour their places of respect.'

They hold that this is a general command for all Muslims to be respectful to all women and avoid undesirable women like the professional Abyssinian girl who used to sing. It is a prohibition like that of 'Umar's, because of the nature of the profession of the singing girls.

Imām Zāhidī writes on the authority of Ibnu'l 'Abbās that 'any voice which is not sanctioned by God is the voice of Shaitān'. Tafsīr of Jalālāin says:

بصوتك بدعائك الغناء و المزامير و كل داع الى المعصية

*Biṣawtika bida'yika'l Ghinā' wal Mazāmīr
wa kullo dā'in ila'l Ma'ṣiyat*

'(Oh, Shaitān), your voice, your summons through songs and instrumental music—all invite men to sin.'

Tafsīr Aḥmadī refers to Shaitān who seduces man with music.

In Tafsīru'l Madārik there is a prayer to Allāh that He should save men from songs and instrumental music and other voices—

اي بالوسوسة و الغناء و المزامير

ai bil waswasati wal ghinā' wal mīzāmīr.

Madārik by 'Allāma 'Ābid Barakāt 'Abdu'llāh Ibn Aḥmad.

Regarding the commentary on the Qur'ān, the Shī'as have their own interpretations by the men of their own creed. They rely most on the commentary by Ḥusain and Jāmi'i 'Abbāsiah.

Ḥusain has interpreted the three verses quoted in our chapter on 'The Qur'ān and Music' as having condemned music. *Lahwal Ḥadīth* (لَهْوُ الْحَدِيثِ), *Az-Zūr* (الزُّور) and *Sāmidūn* (سَامِدُونَ), according to them, refer to music. Different views on those interpretations have been discussed already.¹

Traditions referring to 'Āyisha are discarded by the Shī'as and they feel but little respect for her. The Umayyads are hated by the Shī'as as much as they hate the 'Abbāsids. They are waiting for that Blessed Day when the last of the Imāms would appear 'to deliver Islām'.

The Shī'as hold that music even for the sake of Allāh is unlawful because what is *ḥarām* even when done in the name of God.² Mūlla 'Alī Qārī says that those who recite the Qur'ān with duff and flute commit *Kufr* (sin).

مَنْ قَرَأَ الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى ضَرْبِ الدَّفِّ وَالْقُضْبِ يَكْفُرُ

Man qara'a'l qur'āna 'ala ḍarbi' duff wa'l qaḍibi yakfur.

This is not against music but against recitation of the Qur'ān being associated with other things.

At-Tirmidhī says, 'among my followers will befall calamity of solar eclipse and of the sinking of the earth when they will take to dancing girls and instrumental music'. This is also in the *Mishkāṭ* on chapter of Calamities (*Kitābu'l Fataṭ*). Imām Aḥmad says in his *Masnad* (a book of documents) on the authority of the Prophet:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَنِي أَنْ أَمْحَقَ الْمَزَامِيرَ

Inn a'llāha amarani an amḥaqa'l mazāmīr.

'God has ordered me to destroy the instruments of music.'

Ibn-i Mājah says on the authority of the Prophet, 'certainly my followers will drink wine but will change its name; with instruments of music, singing and dancing girls they will enjoy. God will sink them into earth and they will be turned into the faces of baboons and boars'.

قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (صَلَّمَ) لَيْشْرَبَنَّ نَاسٌ مِنْ أُمَّتِي الْخَمْرَ لَيْشْمُونَهَا بِغَيْرِ اسْمِهَا

يَعْرِفُ عَلَى رُؤُسِهِمْ بِالْمَعَازِفِ وَالْمَغْنِيَّاتِ يَخْشَفُ بِهِمُ الْأَرْضَ وَ يَجْعَلُ مِنْهُمْ

الْقِرَادَةَ وَالْخَنَازِيرَ *

Qāla qāla Rasūlullāhi (Sallal-lahī wa Sallam) la yashrabanna nāsun min ummatī 'al khamra layasammūnahā bighair-i ismahā ya'rafu 'alā ru'ūsihim bil ma'āzif wal mughanniyāti yakhsafu bihimul arḍu u yaj'alu minhumul qaradatu wal khanāzīr.

In *Nihāyah*, a famous book on Fiqh, it is said that songs, claps, *Tambura*, *Barbat* (بربط), *Duff* and the like are *ḥarām* (unlawful).

¹ Vide ante, pp. 58-64.

² *Sharḥa Fiqh Akbar* by Mūlla 'Alī Qārī, p. 205. Printed in Mushabi Press, Delhi.

التغني و القضيبي و الطنبور و البربط و الدف و ما اشبه ذلك حرام

At taghannī, wa'l qadī wal tambūr walbarbat wa'l daff u ma ashbaha dhālīka ḥarām.

In India *Minhāj-u't Tālibīn* by Muḥīu'ddīn Abū Zakariā of the Shāfi'ī School is accepted as an authority in modern Indian law courts. It says, 'it is lawful to sing and listen to song by which camel drivers make their animals walk *hudā*'; but the law blames all other singing accompanied by instruments for music; and it forbids the use and the sound of any musical instrument tending to excite, and the use of forbidden instruments (such as guitar, lute, cymbal and the Persian flute). On the other hand, the flageolet is an instrument of music which the law permits. (The flageolet also sometimes is rigorously forbidden.) A tambourine may be used at a marriage, circumcision, or for any other festival even when bells are attached to it, but he must never beat *kūba*, i.e. a long drum with a narrow bent in the middle.¹

According to the *Minhāj*, dance is permissible, provided it is not of an enervating character like that of effeminate persons. The recitation of poetry is permitted, provided there are no satiric or obscene verses nor any allusion to some particular woman.

Law relating to idols and instruments of music:—

'One should break (them) before returning (if it falls into one's hand) without incurring any liability. However, if the owner asks the holder of these things for their return, they should not all at once rudely be shattered; but different parts should be detached so as to return in their original condition; it is only when the owner himself has rendered this impossible that they may be destroyed in a more rapid manner.'²

Of the four Imāms, the Shī'as put more faith, though not always unqualified, on the interpretations of Imām Shāfi'ī.

On the whole the Shī'as are definitely against music under any conditions whatsoever formally. *Mātam* (ماتم) which is played in tune, *Nauha* (نوحه) and *Sūz* (سوز)—(which is a very difficult tune)—are also unlawful (*ḥarām*). Though *Marthia* مرثیه (ceremonial mourning) as on occasions of *Muharram* are perfectly in order amongst them. They prize most the famous *Marthia* of Faṭimah which was composed on the death of her revered father, the Prophet.

صَبَّتْ عَلَيَّ مَصَائِبُ لَوْ أَنَّمَا صَبَّتْ عَلَى الْإِيَّامِ صَرَفَ لَيْلِيَا

*Sabbat 'alayya maṣā'ibu lau innahā
Sabbat 'alal ayyāmi Ṣarrafa layālīyā.*

'Calamity has befallen on me. If it had fallen on daylight, it would have been night.'

The Shī'as, though condemning music unequivocally, are the greatest connoisseurs of music amongst the Muslims. Volumes can be written on the contributions of the Shī'as to the science and art of music.

¹ *Minhāj u't Tālibīn*, pp. 562-563.

² Ref. Baillie's *Digest on Moohummudan Law*, 1865 ed., p. 169.

CHAPTER IX

THE SŪFĪS AND MUSIC

It is not the place to define what Sūfism is and what a Sūfī stands for. Suffice it to say that Sūfism is an attitude of mind towards God and things Godly. The Sūfīs have their own way of thinking which, the orthodox say, is not warranted by the law of the Prophet. The Sūfīs were often maligned, cursed and persecuted for their free thinking. Still they exist as a powerful factor in the community of the Muslims.

The Sūfīs generally hold independent opinions on many fundamental points of Islām. One of these is on the subject of music. Many of the Sūfīs hold that music is lawful. Of this class, the most important are the *Chishtīs*. The *Naqshbandī* order holds that music is unlawful. The *Sattāriā* and *Qādirīā* hold that permissibility of audition of music is conditional. Other minor orders follow the practices of their preceptors—*Pīrs*.

The Sūfīs are classified into three distinctive groups according to time:

- (a) *Mutaqaddimīn*—who were mentioned in the *Tadhkirat u'l Awliā'* by Faridu'ddīn Attār—such as Junayd Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Shibli, Wais Qarnī, Ḥaran bin Ḥayān, Manṣūr Hallāj, Khwājah Hasan Baṣrī, Dhū'n-Nūn Miṣrī, Faḍīl bin Ayāz, Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī and others.
- (b) *Mutawassitīn*—who were mentioned by Jamī in his *Nafḥātu'l Uns* such as Mu'īnu'ddīn Chishtī, Maulānā Rūmī, Jāmī, Faridu'ddīn Attār and 'Abdu'l Qādir Jilānī.
- (c) *Muta'akhkhirīn*—who were mentioned in modern books like *Taṣawwuf aur Islām* by Maulānā 'Abdu'l Mājīd Dariābādī such as Nizāmu'ddīn Awliā', Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ, Imām Abū'l Qāsim Kasrī.

There are innumerable orders of the Sūfīs who may be classified according to the principles and practices of the Pīrs or according to the country they live in. In India the most important of the Sūfī orders are:—

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Chishtia</i> | ... | (a) Nizāmīa. |
| | | (b) Šābrī. |
| (2) <i>Naqshbandia</i> | .. | Four Qayyums. |
| | | (a) Bahlū'l Shāhī. |
| | | (b) Maqīm Shāhī. |
| (3) <i>Qadiria</i> | .. | (c) Naw Shāhī. |
| | | (d) Husainī. |
| | | (e) Myaṇī Khel. |
| | | (a) Jalālī. |
| (4) <i>Suhrawardia</i> | .. | (b) Makhdūmī. |
| | | (c) Ismā'il Shāhī. |
| | | (d) Dawālā. |
| | | (e) Lāl Shāhī. |
| | | (f) Rasūl Shāhī. |
| | | (a) Uwaysī. |
| (5) Other orders | .. | (b) Madāriā. |
| | | (c) Sattāriā. |
| | | (d) Qalandariā. |
| | | (e) Malāmātiā, etc. ¹ |

¹ *Taṣawwuf-i-Islām*, by 'Abdu'l Majid, Azamgarh, p. 45.

The following are the principal Sūfis who have expressed their opinions on music either for or against: Abū Naṣr Sarrāj (first writer on Sūfism in Arabic), Imām Ghazālī, Shaikh 'Alī bin 'Uthmān Hujwīrī (first writer of Sūfism in Persian), Junayd Baghdādī, Muḥammad bin Tahir, Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī, Shaikh Aḥmad Mujaddadī Naqshbandī, Khwaja Nizāmuddīn Chishtī, and his followers like Qutubuddīn, Farīduddīn, Nizāmuddīn, Salīm and others, Muḥīyuddīn 'Arabī, Muḥsin Fanī, 'Abdul Raḥmān as Salamī (author of *Kitāb u's Samā'*), Dhu'n-Nūn Miṣrī, Abū Muḥammad Jurayrī, Jalāluddīn Rumī, Musliḥuddīn Ṣa'dī and others.

Imām Ghazālī in his two famous books *Ihyā'-u'l 'Ulūm wa'd Din* (Revival of Sciences) and *Kimiā'i-Sa'ādat* (Chemistry of Happiness) have advanced a philosophical background of music. In his chapter on music in *Kimiā*, Ghazālī has defined music as 'the fire inside the stone'. It comes out when it is struck, and it burns the 'whole forest'. Music is like a light emanating from inside a mine which is the human heart. It reveals the beauty inside—it is *Tanāsūb*. *Tanāsūb* is the reflection of the beauty of the world. It reveals the *Jamāl*, *Husn* and *Tanāsūb* of the universe—it is the unity of the two worlds. Music leads everything to finality.

Then Imām Ghazālī goes on arguing against the viewpoint of the Mullās. He says that Mullās are of two kinds—

External. ظاهريين

Internal. باطنيين

The former decides things by the external manifestations and the latter by what is latent. According to Imām Ghazālī, a Mullā ordinarily thinks in terms of the 'material' (things apparent). A Sūfī defends music on the ground that it leads to love of God and thus man brings himself nearer to God through music. Further, anything that brings man nearer to God is lawful; hence the Sūfis hold music as lawful. Whereas the Mullās hold that love may grow between the same species; a tiger may love a tigress, a sparrow may love a she-sparrow; a man may love his opposite of the same species. As God has no species or genus, He is beyond the sphere of love of man. Thus, according to the Mullās, the Sūfis mislead themselves and others by pleading love of God as defence of music. Moreover, the Mullās hold that love is a matter of reciprocity which is impossible between man and God. Man feels by five senses; but God, being unlimited, is beyond the approach and reach of the five human senses which are but limited. So the Mullās who are *Zāhirīyīn* condemn music as is understood by the Sūfis.

To this, Imām Ghazālī, in his chapter on *Muḥabbat* (love), has given a very philosophical yet logical reply. The great Imām says that human heart can hardly remain empty; it always craves for association. By nature, it wants to associate with things beloved. If the heart is to love, the best love must be for the best of the treasures—the best treasure is certainly God. If man does not love God, he must, by nature, love something other than God which is of lesser value than God. So according to Imām Ghazālī, love of God is permissible. Further, God has said in the Qur'ān:

وَمَنْ يُحِبِّهِمْ
يُحِبِّبُوهُمْ

Yahubbuhum wa yahubbūnahu.

'God loves them and they shall love God.'¹

¹ *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism*, by E. J. Jurji, p. 44.

The Prophet has said:—

‘He has no religion who cannot love God and the Prophet more than any of his possessions.’

Love of God has been assessed in the Qur’ān as follows:—

قل ان كان آباؤكم و ابنائكم و اخوانكم

*Qul inkāna ābā’ukum wa abnā’ukum
Wa akhawānukum*

‘Love of God is more than the love of parents, children and brothers’

Love by and through senses as is understood by the Mullās (Zāhirīyīn) is the sensual love—physical love, and the object of physical love may be changed; it is transferable and is transient. These are objects of the animal world. But beyond the five senses which every animal possesses, there is yet another sense called the *sixth sense* which differentiates man from animal. It is through this sense that man can soar to the heights from which he can love God, and love of God may be best realized through music which reveals the hidden treasures inside the heart.

Al Ghazālī has classified music under three heads:—

- (1) Music as sports (*Lahw* لَهْو) which is unlawful because it creates disturbance.
- (2) Music as delight (*Ladhdhat* لَذَّة) which has reference only to the joy of the heart for the sake of delight only. The green grass, running waters, budding flowers, singing birds please the five senses and make a man happy; and they are not unlawful. Why should music which pleases the sense of audition be interdicted as unlawful? Pleasure of the senses is perfectly justified in Islām; music is a source of delight of *sense*, pure and simple.
- (3) Music is good (*Mubāḥ* مَبَاح) because the Prophet has set an example by enjoying it himself and allowing others to enjoy it.

Imām Ghazālī then quoted profusely from the practices of the Prophet specially the tradition of ‘Āyisha enjoying the performance of Abyssinian acrobats accompanied with music. He has drawn five conclusions from it, namely:—

- (a) Music (sports) may sometimes be enjoyed.
- (b) It may be enjoyed near a mosque.
- (c) It was a kind of request of the Prophet, because He asked ‘Āyisha if she would enjoy the acrobat’s performance.
- (d) The example proves that it is lawful to make women and children happy by giving them opportunity for enjoyment of sports.
- (e) Finally it was a command of the Prophet.

دونكم يا بنى ارفدة ببازى مشغول باشيد

Dunākum yā banī arfada babāzī mashghūl bāshīd.

‘Oh the children of Arfād (Abyssinian) go on with performance.’¹

¹ *Kimiyā-i-Sa’ādat*, pp. 220-221.

So, said the Prophet, to the Abyssinian.

Some say that the Abyssinians were mere performers of feats of skill and there is no reference to music. But Al Ghazālī is definite that Abyssinian performance was accompanied with music, etc., which is a normal custom of the Abyssinian acrobats.

بازي جڻگيان رقص و سرود بوده

Bāzī-i jangīān raqṣ wa surūd būda.

‘The sports of the Abyssinian was with music and dance.’¹

In Arabic, the oldest book on Sūfism is *Kitāb-u’l Lumma’ fī Ṭaṣawwuf* by Abū Naṣr Sarrāj which has discussed the question of music in Islām. The great author was known as *Tā’usu’l Fuqarā* (the peacock of the Sūfīs). Though the author has been referred to by famous writers like Farīduddīn ‘Aṭṭār and by Jāmī, yet his book could not be traced till Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge found a manuscript of *Kitāb-u’l Lumma’* with Mr. Elis.² He searched for another copy which was found in the British Museum. The learned professor compared the two manuscripts and produced a very fine edition of this famous book *Kitāb-u’l Lumma’*.

In the 9th chapter of this book, the author has discussed the question of music under the following sub-heads:—

- (a) Varieties of music.
- (b) Diversity of opinion as to its import.
- (c) Melody and audition.
- (d) Audience.
- (e) Public and individual music.
- (f) Disciples and beginners in the art of music, etc.

Abū Naṣr Sarrāj has assigned a very high place to melody and music. He has based his defence of music on Ḥadīth:—

ما بعث الله نبياً إلا حسن الصوت

Ma ba‘thallāhu Nabīyan illā ḥasn a’ṣ ṣaut.

‘God has not sent any Prophet but with a melodious voice.’

زَيِّنُوا الْقُرْآنَ بِأَصْوَاتِكُمْ

Zayyinu’l Qur’āna bi aswātikum.

‘Beautify the Qur’ān with melody.’

ما اذن الله تعالى لشيء كما اذن النبي حسن الصوت

Ma adhan Allāhu Ta‘ālā liṣhay’in

Kamā adhtuna a’n Nabīyin ḥasna’ṣ ṣaut.

‘God has not given permission so strongly for anything as He has given permission to the Prophets for melody.’

Then the learned Sūfī goes on discussing the different measures of music. He quoted the expressions of the Sūfīs like Junayd Baghdādī, Abū’l Ḥasan Nūrī, Ḥaḍarī and others who enjoyed music. Like Al Ghazālī he supported music even when the common people enjoy them for mere delight

¹ Compare Bukhārī’s Ḥadīth published from Lahore in 1341 A.H., p. 123.

² Copied by Aḥmad bin Zāhiri, dated 638 A.H.—1284 A.H.

(لذت). Abū Naṣr Sarrāj enthusiastically quoted Ḥadīth to show that 'Āyishā, Abū Bakr, Bilāl and other great Ṣaḥābīs enjoyed music for mere delight as did the Prophet on 'Īd days with *duff*. Mālīk bin Anās, 'Abdullāh bin Ja'far, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, Imām Shāfi'ī have been quoted to justify the tuneful recitation of verses and poems in melodious voice.

Abū Naṣr Sarrāj has classified the audience (سامعین) into three groups according to their personal capacity.

(a) *Mubtadiyān* and *Murīdīn* (the Beginners and the Disciples).

(b) *Mutawassitīn* and *Siddiqīn* (the Advanced and the Purists).

(c) 'Ārifīn (the Mystics).

Finally the author has advanced very learned arguments both for and against music.

Junayd Baghdādī, the famous Sūfī, is of opinion that music by itself is not unlawful. But it becomes unlawful when it is not done properly; it becomes *ḥarām*. He insists on three factors which must be taken into serious consideration in giving judgment on music:—

(a) *Zamān* (Time).

(b) *Makān* (Place).

(c) *Akhwān* (Company).

In times of prayer, or in times of taking food, or while engaged in his duties, one should not enjoy music.

In a dirty place, in a dark room, in the house of a tyrant, music will cause pain instead of pleasure. So it should not be done there.

Music may be enjoyed only in company of persons who are fit to enjoy it. Music should not be enjoyed with a person who is too much engaged in worldly affairs; with a person who has no ear for music, or who is inattentive, or an unwilling listener—because in such company music will produce no effect. Junayd Baghdādī says that great restraint must be maintained in the enjoyment of music.

Shaikh 'Alī bin 'Uthmān Hujwīrī in his famous book *Kashf ul Mahjūb* (Withdrawal of the Screen) has discussed the question of music in the 25th chapter of his book. He has divided the chapter on music into ten sub-heads and has based his arguments in favour of music on *Tartīl* (science and art of recitation) of the Qur'ān.

'Abdūr Raḥman Lāhūrī in his book called *Kitāb-u's Samā'* has supported music and has quoted some authorities.

Ikhwānu's Safā' (Brethren of Purity) is an encyclopædic work in fifty tractates. There is no particular author of this vast work, but scholars are of opinion that it is a compilation of various authors 'who formed a society for the pursuit of holiness, purity and truth, and established amongst themselves a doctrine whereby they hoped to win the approval of God, maintaining that the Religious Law was defiled by ignorance and adulterated by errors, and that there were no means of cleansing and purifying it except philosophy, which united the wisdom of faith and the profit of research. They held that perfect result would be reached if Greek philosophy was combined with Arabic religion'.¹ The most important of this group is Abū Sulaiman Muḥammad bin Ma'shar though Ibn u'l Jaldī

¹ Ref. is to *Tārīkh ul Ḥukamā'*, edited by Lippert, Vol. I, p. 83.

is claimed by some scholars to be the author. I have used the Persian translation by Maulānā Aḥmad, a descendant of Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq (1304 A.H.).

Ikhwānu's Ṣafā' has discussed music from the Greek standpoint; the word Musīqī (موسیقی) has been traced to Greek root *Maw*—meaning 'sound' and *Saqi*—meaning 'knots'. So it is a science of sound and notation (equivalent to Sanskrit नाद-बान्). Pythagoras has written an excellent book on music (sound). Aristotle's work on sound has been translated into Arabic by several scholars. According to Greek conception, sound is primarily connected with the soul and not body. But when sound is rendered into rhythm, it establishes connection between the soul and body, and music comes out of this combination of soul and body. Then it is called *Samā'*—or what is known as audition.

Ikhwān's Ṣafā' tells that audition is the gift of God and the use of the gift of God is perfectly justified.

و الَّذِي جَعَلَ لَكُمْ السَّمْعَ وَ الْبَصَرَ وَ الْإِفْئِدَةَ قَلِيلًا مَا تَشْكُرُونَ

*Wa'lladhi Ja'ala likumus Samā' wa'l baṣara
wa'l af'idata qalīlam mā tashkarūn.*

'Allāh is that God which has given you the power of audition, the power of sight, the power of understanding so that you be thankful to Him for these gifts.'

Ikhwānu's Ṣafā' mentioned the names of twelve Arabic notations and suggested their scientific background in consonance with the twelve planets in the constellation. Then there is a short discussion on Hindu notations which are three hundred and sixty in number and are based on mathematics and astronomy. *Ikhwānu's Ṣafā'* is enthusiastic on music.

The author of *Latāyif* says:—¹

این فقیر مدت سی سال در تحت قبة نیلگون و زیر گنبد گردون پرکاروار
گردیده و بملازمت اکبر روزگار رسیده و از بزم نعمت ایشان جرعه چشیده
و خلعت همت و نعمت این خوب کیشان در برکشیده هیچ کس از طائفه
بی سماع نه یافته و همه این اشغال داشتند اگرچه بعض اکبر و برخی امائر
بی سماع هم بودند و لیکن انکار نداشتند و از مشائخ ما تقدم حضرت سید الطائفة
و ابوبکر شبلی و معروف کرخی و سری سقطی و بایزید بسطامی و ابو سعید
ابی الخیر و عبد الله ضعیف و حاجی شریف و عزیزانی که در تذکرة الاولیاء
مذکور اند و بزرگانی که طبقات الاصفیاء مسطور اکثر از آنها صاحب سماع بودند
و از مشائخ متاخر حضرت گنج نرید الدین و قاضی حمید الدین و خواجه
نطلب الدین و شیخ نظام الدین در روایت صحیح که از ایشان رسیده معلوم شده
که همه تواجد کرده اند و رقص فرموده پس هر که سماع را منکر باشد و حرام گوید

¹ Quoted in *Iḥqāqu's Samā'*, by Maulānā 'Abdul Bārī, p. 19.

پس گفته باشد که این همه اولیاء ارتکاب حرام کرده باشند و سخن از عداوت بود.
 ”وَمِنْ عَادَ وَلِيًّا فَقَدْ بَارَزَنِي بِالْمُكَارَبَةِ“ با حق تعالی حرب کرده باشند *
 احقاق السماع صفحه ۱۹

‘This faqir, for thirty years, I, moved like a compass beneath the blue sky and the moving doom, and in the service of the great men of the time, I tested bits of grace of their assembly and I put upon myself the cloth of the courage and grace of these gentlemen. I have found every one of that assembly to be with music and all were engaged in this (music). Even if any of them did not hear music, he did not prohibit it. And many of the old Shaikhs, such as Hadrat Sayyidut Tā’ifa (Junayd Baghdādī), Abū Bakr Shiblī, Ma’rūf Karkhī, Sarī Saqtī, Bāyazīd Buṣṭāmī, Abū Sa’id ‘Abūl Khair, ‘Abdu’llāh Daif, Hājī, Sharif ‘Azizānī and those who have been mentioned in Tadhkiratu’l Awliā’ and Tabaqāt u’l Asfiā’, were experts in music, of the modern (Shaikhs), Shaikh Faridu’d-dīn, Qādi Hamidu’d-dīn, Khwāja Qutubu’d-dīn and Shaikh Nizāmu’d-dīn are found, on correct authorities, to have enjoyed ecstasy and dance. Those who are prohibitionists and condemn it as unlawful, say that all these awliās (lovers of God) were performers of unlawful things. This is something of enmity for the Prophet told, “God says he who has been enemy to the lovers of God, fights with me.”
 Maulānā Nizāmu’d-dīn Muḥammad Saḥāwī says in *Manāqib-i-Razzā-qiah*—¹

بدانکه در استماع سرود اختلاف فقها است امام شافعی و شمس الآئمه سرخسی از فقهای حنفیه و شیخ ابو یزید بسطامی و شیخ ابن عربی رضوان الله تعالی علیهم اجمعین قائل بحل اند و تفصیلش در موضع است - پس التزام شنیدن غناء بر هر مرید لازم نیست چه هر کس لیاقت آن ندارد و حل آن مشروط است بچند شروط و یافته شدنش در همه کس غیر ممکن و آن شروط این است که در آن رغبت بدنی و ذکر فواحش و طریق لهو و محفل فساق و مجمع نسوان نباشد و سامع از اهل نفس نباشد و شنیدنش باظهار فقر و ریا نباشد و اظهار وجد بدروغ نه نماید و تا بمقدور ضبط کرده باشد و قلبش پُر از عشق خدا باشد که غناء مسکن قلب او باشد چه نغمه را تأثیرات است کثیره، پس اگر این شروط در ذات خود جمع دارد پس او را مباح است و چون شیخ او التزام سماع میدارد و او جامع الشروط پس التزام آن اولی است و بدون اجتماع شروط حرام لکن در این زمان جامع الشروط نادر الوجود است لهذا فقها حکم بحرمت آن داده اند مطلقاً و فی الحقیقه ”کَيْسَ هَكَذَا بَلْ لَاهِلًا حَلَالٌ وَ لَغَيْرَهَا حَرَامٌ“ *
 احقاق السماع صفحه ۷

¹ Ibid., p. 7.

'Know it, the theologians are at variance in matter of hearing music. Imām Shāfi'i and Shamsu'l A'imma Sarakhsi a Hanafia theologians and Shaikh Abū Yazid Bisṭāmi and Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī say that it is (permissible).'

'It is not incumbent on every disciple to hear music for every man has not got the necessary capacity. The permissibility depends on some conditions. It is impossible to get those capacities in every individual. These are the conditions:—Desire of the flesh (world), description of shameful topics, nonsensical ways, and assembly of bad men and party of women should not be in this matter (of music). The audience should not be *ah!-i Nafs* (materialists). The audition should not be for display of pride and exhibition. The ecstasy should not be false; it should be checked as far as possible; his heart be full of love of God for the heart is the repository of music; music (shall) be really very efficacious. Music is permissible for him who can fulfil those conditions. If his master (*Shaikh*) possesses those capacities and fulfil those conditions, it is better for him to follow it. Without the combination of those conditions, (music is) *ḥarām*. But in this age, combinations of all these conditions are rare. For this reason, the theologians have given opinions of its being *ḥarām* generally. Really this is not so; but it is lawful for the deserving and unlawful for the undeserving.'

Dhu'n-Nun, the Egyptian, says:—'Audition is a Divine message (*wārid u'l haq*) which stirs the heart to seek God: those who listen to it spiritually (*bahāq*) attain unto God (*tahāqqāqā*), and those who listen to it sensually (*ba-nafs*) fall into heresy (*tazandaqā*). This venerable Sūfī does not mean that 'audition is the cause of attaining unto God, but he means that the audience ought to hear the spiritual reality, not the mere sound, and that the Divine influence ought to sink into his heart and stir it up. One who in that audition follows the truth will experience a revelation whereas one who follows his lower soul (*nafs*) will be veiled and will have recourse to interpretation (*ta'wīl*).'

Shibli says, 'Audition is outwardly a temptation (*fitnat*) and inwardly an admonition (*ibrat*): he who knows the mystic sign (*ishārāt*) may lawfully hear the admonition; otherwise, he has invited temptation and exposed himself to calamity, i.e. audition is calamitous and a source of evil to any one whose whole heart is not absorbed in the thought of God'. Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī said, in answer to a man who questioned him concerning audition: 'Would that I were rid of it entirely because man is unable to do everything as it ought to be done, and when he fails to do a thing duly, he perceives that he has failed and wishes to be rid of it altogether'.¹

Re: the principles of audition, Al Hujwīrī is of opinion that no fixed law should be laid down for one and all, and that it should be decided by the capacity of the singer and hearer. What is *Ilāhī* (Divine) for a man of pure heart becomes *Lahī* (frivolous) for a man of loose morals. As men differ in their temperament, permission to enjoy music should be given very carefully and cautiously. He has divided the listeners (*mustami'ān*) into two classes:—

- (a) those who hear the spiritual meaning.
- (b) those who hear the material sound.

Those who hear music and follow the truth (*Haq*) as justified, and those who enjoy the effervescence (*Ghilaān*), are false (*Bāṭil*).² Though

¹ *Islamic Sūfism* by S. Ikbal, pp. 269-270.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

Sardar Ikbal has used *Kashfu'l Mahjūb* of Al Hujwiri, he had not the courtesy to recognize it clearly.

The whole of this topic has been well illustrated by the story of David which runs as follows:—

'God made David His vicegerent and gave him a sweet voice and caused his throat to be a melodious pipe so that wild beasts and birds came from mountains and plains to hear him, and the water ceased to flow and the birds fell from the air. It is related that during a month's space, the people who were gathered round him in the desert ate no food, and the children neither wept nor asked for milk; and when David departed, it was found that many had died of the rapture that seized them as they listened to his voice. One time, it is said, the toll of the dead amounted to seven hundred maidens and twelve thousand old men. Then God, wishing to separate those who listened to the voice and followed their temperament from the followers of the truth (*ahl-i haq*) who listened to the spiritual reality, permitted *Iblis* (*Shaitān*) to work his will and display his wiles. *Iblis* fashioned a mandoline and a flute and took up a station opposite to the place where David was singing. David's audience became divided into two parties: the blessed and the damned. Those who were destined to damnation lent ear to the music of *Iblis* while those who were destined to felicity remained listening to the voice of David. The spiritualists (*ahl-i-ma'ānī*) were conscious of nothing except David's voice for they saw God alone; if they heard the Devil's music, they regarded it as a temptation proceeding from God, and if they heard David's voice, they recognized it as being a direction from God; wherefore they abandoned all things that are merely subsidiary and saw both right and wrong as they really are. When a man has audition of this kind, whatever he hears is lawful to him.'

Famous Sūfī saints like *Khwāja Mu'īnu'ddīn Chishtī* (founder of the *Chishtiah* Cult), *Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī* (founder of the *Qadiriya* School), *Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn Suhrawardī* (founder of the *Suhrawardī* sect) and *Shaikh Ahmad Sayyad* (founder of the *Naqshbandī* order), who have a large number of followers, have given their opinions of music.

In India, the *Chishtiah* is the most famous of all Sūfī orders. It was introduced into India by *Khwāja Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī*, born in 1142 A.D. He came to India with the army of Sultān Muḥammad Ghurī in 1192 A.D. and two years after settled at Ajmir opposite to the famous Hindu pilgrimage of Pushkar where he left his earthly remains at the ripe age of 96. Of his spiritual descendants a large number have been recognized as *Chirāgs* (lights)—such as Qutubu'ddīn of Delhi, Faridu'ddīn of Shakarganj, Jalālu'ddīn of Pānīpath, Nizāmu'ddīn Awliā' of Balkh, Muḥammad Ṣādiq of Gunguh, *Shaikh Salim* of Fatehpur. The order is famous for adoption of music as a part of their religious system, and they think that the nearest cut from men to God is through music. They have been branded often as heretics by the orthodox for their extremely eclectic and free views. Nizāmu'ddīn Awliā', whose real name was Muḥammad bin Ahmad bin Dāniyāl al Bukhārī, was one of the most notable Muslim saints who is respected even today by the Hindustānis irrespective of castes and creeds. His views on music have been expressed in his *Fatuhāt* (letters) now embodied in *Panj Ganja Chishtiah*. He says that music is *Mubāḥ*. In *Siya-u'l Awliā'*, it is told that Nizāmu'ddīn Awliā' was once questioned about the propriety of music. He enthusiastically supported it and produced some *Ḥadīth* on this behalf. Mullās refused to accept these *Ḥadīth*, and the saint cursed them with pestilence which visited them later on. This is also mentioned in *Firishtah*. He appointed salaried *Qawwāls* (musicians)

to sing in his hamlet. Nizāmu'ddīn's view may be summarized as follows:—

Music by itself is not *ḥarām*, but common people may make it *ḥarām* by applying it to prohibited things. For the better class people who are in the way of God, it is *mubāḥ*: for the Sūfīs it is *Mustahib*; for the lover of God it is *ḥalāl*. A Chishtiah upholds, 'the hearing of harmonious sounds moves the heart and kindles the fire of love for God'.¹

Author of *Siyar-u'l Awliā'* says, 'I went and sat in front of a tomb. The spiritual musical performances in the congregation were of its highest order and the singers and Sūfīs were excited'.²

Shaikh Burhān (1462–1562) delighted in music.³

Miyan Shaikh Muḥīu'ddīn Abū Yūsuf (1602–1689) enjoyed music and even Aurangzeb slackened his rigours of the ban of music against him and he enjoyed it in spite of the ban.⁴

The *Naqshbandī* order is against music, but it does not say that music is absolutely unlawful. Baḥā'uddīn Naqshbandī says:—

نه این کار میکنم و نه آن کار میکنم

Na in kār mi kunam wa na ān kār mī kunam.

'I do not do this, nor do I do that (neither *ḥarām* and *ḥalāl*).'⁵

Between the prohibition of the *Naqshbandī* order and the liberty of the *Chishtiah* stands the middle course of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardī.

Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī, the founder of the *Qādirīyah* sect, in the sixth chapter of his book *Fatḥul Ghaib* has discussed the question of music.

The learned Sūfī in the second chapter of his famous book '*Awāriful Ma'ārif*' says that the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth should be recited in a melodious voice.

Shihābu'ddīn Suhrawardī says that those who oppose music do not know the life and actions of the Prophet and of the *Ṣaḥābīs*. As such music should not be condemned.⁶

He says in his '*Awārif*' advising his son in regard to music:

یا بنی لا تنکر السماع فانها لیس و لعب

Yā bunayya lā tankiz-i's-Samā'
fa innahā laḥwa-walā'ib.

'Oh my son, do not reject music, because there are many great men in it.'

Abū Sa'id Faḍlullāh of *Khurasān* (357 A.H., 967 A.D.) heard music and invited Sūfīs to join music with him.⁷

Singing was practised in 'Umar's tomb by Shaikh Abu'l Faḍl Ḥasan, in presence of Abū Sa'id.⁸

Al Qasharyiah at first doubted the permissibility of audition but in the end followed it in the house of Abū Sa'id after a long discussion.⁹

The Sūfīs hold, as Nicholson writes, that progress in mystic life becomes quicker and easier through music.¹⁰

¹ Sufism, its saints and shrines by John A. Sobhan, Lahore, p. 215.

² *Siyar-u'l Awliā'*, p. 315.

³ *Akbar-u'l Akhyār*, p. 326.

⁴ *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, p. 69.

⁵ *Jawāij-i Samā'*, p. 21.

⁶ *Iḥqāq'u's Samā'* by 'Abdul Bārī, p. 18.

⁷ Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Ibn u'l Farīd says (Odes):—(440 A.H.—1050 A.H.).

'In music I behold my Beloved with all my beings; I am riven asunder by the struggle of my spirit escaping from the body.'

'Abu'l Qāsim al-Baghwī says:—

'Music is food for the spirit. When the spirit obtains its food, it attains its proper station and turns aside from the subordination of the body; then appears in the listener a commotion and a movement.'

Abū 'Abdullāh al-Nibajī says:—

'Audition starts thought and produces admonition; all else is temptation.'

Of the Persian Sūfīs, a large number of them have discussed the subjects of music, though as a class the Persians are Shī'as, the Shī'as are generally opposed to music. The Persian Sūfīs are enthusiastic supporters of music. Rūmī says that the whole universe came out of sound (نَادِ نَادِ) and to this eternal sound, the world will ultimately dissolve. Maulānā Rūmī says:—

راز پنهان است اندر زیر و بم فاش اگر گویم جهان برهم زدم

Rāz pinhān ast andar zīr u bam

Fāsh agar guyam jahān barham zanam.

'The mystery of the creation is hidden in the subtle and coarse notes.

If I reveal them, the creation will be dislodged.'

Further, the great Maulānā Rūmī conceived the whole life of a man as a flute and the musical notes are but the call of the body to the soul.

Sa'dī says in Būstān:—

جهان پر سماع است و مستی و شور و لیکن چه بیند در آئینه کور

Jahān pur samā' āst u mastī u shūr,

Wa likin chī binād dar ā'īnāi kūr.

'This world is full of music, ecstasy and notations; but can a blind man look through the mirror?'

Further the great savant says:—

اگر از برج معنی بود سیر او فرشته فروماند از طیر او

Agar az burji ma'nī buvad sair-i-ū

Firishtah firu mānad az ṭair-i-ū.

'If the musician soars up to the pinnacle of ecstasy, the angel cannot follow in pursuit of him.'

Sa'dī has drawn beautiful comparison between camel and man who does not appreciate music and has condemned the man as something lower than animal.

Appreciation of music by the Persian poets cannot be better expressed than by the following words of the great Persian Sūfī:—

روزم بروی دلبر و قوال در سرود دستم بدست شاهد مقصود در سماع

Ruẓam bi rūi dīlbar wa Qawwāl dar surūd,

Dastam bidast-i-shāhid-i maqṣūd dar samā'.

'The eyes were fixed on my beloved's and the musician was on his song;

My hand resting on the hand of my love in rapturous song.'

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

I have discussed the instances when music was permitted and the circumstances under which it was enjoyed. The Fiqh have discussed the specific points and occasionally enunciated general principles on the questions of music. Difference is clear from the adjectives used in the mention and classification of music.

<i>Harām</i>	.. حرام	forbidden.
<i>Makrūh</i>	.. مكروه	disapproved.
<i>Halāl</i>	.. حلال	permitted.
<i>Ibāḥat</i>	.. اباحت	permitted but not commended.
<i>Sunnat</i>	.. سنت	done by the Prophet and as such commended.
<i>Wājib</i>	.. واجب	what should be required.
<i>Mustaḥibāt</i>	.. مستحبات	meritorious.
<i>Mundib</i>	.. مندب	recommended.

Time, place and association (*Zamān*, *Makān* and *Akhwān*) are regarded as the most important factors that play great part in determining the position of music in Islām. Circumstances often make an injunction *harām* or *halāl*; take for instance *Namāz* (Prayer) which is *Fard* (incumbent) becomes *harām* when it is offered by a woman during the period of her monthly course or by a man when he is drunk. In fact, *Namāz*, which is one of the fundamentals of Islām, becomes *Fard*, *Wājib*, *Sunnat*, *Nafil*, *Makrūh* or even *harām* according to the circumstances under which it is offered. Maulānā 'Abdu'l Bārī is of opinion that music without any adjective is *halāl* but when associated with a thing *harām*, it becomes *harām*, such as a song in praise of wine, in reproach of a Muslim, etc.

Music has been declared unlawful by Mulla 'Alī Qārī Ḥanafī when it is accompanied with instruments (*mazāmīr*).

Fathu'l Qādir says that music is unlawful when:—

- (a) It is couched in shameful language.
- (b) It is in reproach of some Muslim or *Dhimmī*.
- (c) It is in praise of unclean things like wine.
- (d) It is in praise of a woman's body.
- (e) It is in praise of a beautiful boy dressed as a woman.

Imām Ghazālī says that praise of the general features of body is justified. Music in praise of one's wife or slave girl is lawful. In allegorical songs, praise of woman's body is permissible.¹

Junayd Baghdādī says that music is unlawful—

- (a) in times of prayer,
- (b) in time of taking one's food,

¹ *Kimīā-i-Sa'adat*, pp. 220-223.

- (c) when it clashes with one's duty such as when a man is going to the law court to stand as a witness,
 (d) in a dirty or dark place,
 (e) in a tyrant's house,
 and (f) in company of unwilling or inattentive listener.

Further Junayd said to a recently converted disciple, 'if you wish to keep your religion safe and to maintain your penitence, do not indulge, while you are young in the audition, which the Šūfis practise, and when you grow old, do not let yourself be the cause of guilt in others.¹

An average Muslim says that the circumstances under which the Prophet enjoyed music are perfectly lawful for a follower without reserve.

The Prophet was greeted with music when he returned home from the battle as referred already when the famous (*Ṭala'al Badru*

^{طلع البدر} (طلع البدر) was sung.²

Songs in offering welcome to one who has returned from a distant land is permissible.³

A similar occasion was narrated by Ibn Mājah on the authority of Anas, personal servant of the Prophet, that the Apostle of God was greeted by the girls of Najjār tribe on the street of Madīnah.⁴

Songs on the festive occasions as in the '*Īd-u'l Fitr*, '*Īd u'l Adhā* and *Yaumi 'ash'ūra* are permissible. The Prophet did not prohibit music on an '*Īd* day and asked Abū Bakr not to interfere with the girls who were enjoying it in the house of 'Āyisha,⁵ though He was himself a little indisposed.

Another occasion has been mentioned when the Prophet utilized the services of an Abyssinian acrobat in his very house to give pleasure to the members of his family.⁶

In war music was permitted. The Prophet had utilized the services of musicians in war and his drum beater was an Indian.⁷

Imām Ghazālī writes that music is allowed in every approved war but is forbidden in wars with the Muslims and *Dhimmīs*; it is forbidden in a battle which is itself forbidden.⁸

Music is permissible in marriage.⁹

Khadijah's marriage with the Prophet was celebrated with music before the Revelations came.¹⁰ Music formed a part of the function of 'Alī's marriage with Fāṭimah after the Revelations came in 624 A.D.¹¹

Abū Laith Samarqandī quotes a tradition from 'Āyisha that:—

'Announce the marriage and perform it in the mosque and beat the *duff* on the occasion.'

Muhammad bin Hātib quoted a tradition.

'The distinction between legal and illegal marriage is by means of beating of drums.'

Sarakhsī has said in *Bahrūz Rayaq* that music is lawful in times of marriage, in welcoming guests, in times of despair. Imām Mālik also supports this view.

In *Kashshāf* and *Hidāyah* music has been declared lawful in times of child birth, in times of dedication of animals on the sixth day of child birth,

¹ Sirdar Ikbal, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

² See *ante*.

³ At-Tirmidhī. See *ante*.

⁴ Bukhārī. Chap. on 'Id, p. 210.

⁵ Chelebi. Travels, I (II), p. 234.

⁶ See *ante*.

⁷ See *ante*.

⁸ Chelebi, Travels, I (II), p. 226.

⁹ See *ante*.

¹⁰ See *ante*.

¹¹ Ibn-Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, II, p. 15.

¹² J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 222.

¹³ *Thyā'u'l 'Ulūm*, p. 743.

when name is given to a child (عقیه) or in times of circumcision; when a man finishes the Qur'ān (Hāfiẓa).

In *Raddu'l Mukhtār*, similar view has been supported. 'It says that music by itself is not bad. The motive behind it makes it good or bad.

In *Hidāyah*, music has been permitted in times of war; play on 'duff' is permitted in times of war and in marriage.

In *Sūra Vaqāya*, it is told that a man who damages a 'duff' is liable to be punished with fines. This has practically made the instruments of music lawful.

In *Wāqīāt Muftiyān*, instrumental music has been permitted except for sports or fun (لغو).

In *Anwar*, a Shāfi'i law book, *duff* with *zaj* is not unlawful by itself.

In *Fathu'l Qādir* music touched in language which describes the body of a living woman, or in praise of wine, or in reproach of a Muslim (or of a *Dhimmī*) is not unlawful if it be in praise of nature or when used in literary expression.

In *Fatāwa Naft'i*, music has been permitted in which permission has been given for music in connection with *Latā'if*.

In his note on *Hidāyah* 'Anī Hanafī said that music is lawful when it is enjoyed in times of disaster.

Qādī Thanāu'llāh Pānīpatī says that in the times of marriage, the Prophet ordered the use of music with instruments.

Imām Ghazālī says music is permissible with instruments in times of Jihād which is lawful (as was done by Dā'ūd), and on occasions of 'Īd, or in friendly societies. Imām Ghazālī says, 'music as enjoyed by Sūfīs out of love of God is perfectly lawful'.

The Sūfīs almost as a class enjoy the privilege of music except the *Naqshbandīyah*.

The Mullās possess a peculiar mentality. To them we have only to refer one passage of the Qur'ān:—

لَهُمْ عَيْنٌ وَلَا يَبْصُرُونَ بِهَا

وَلَهُمْ أُذُنٌ وَلَا يَسْمَعُونَ بِهَا

وَلَهُمْ قُلُوبٌ وَلَا يَفْقَهُونَ بِهَا

Lahum a'yunun wa lā yabṣarūna bihā
Wa lahum uḏḥunun wa lā yasma'ūna bihā
Wa lahum qulubun wa lā yafqahūna bihā.

I have given them eyes but they see not through them.
 I have given them ears but they hear not through them.
 I have given them heads but they search not.

THE END

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Two Books on Vaiṣṇavism:

1. A STUDY OF VAIṢṆAVISM. By Kunja Govinda Goswami, M.A., Lecturer (now Reader) in the Department of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta. Published by Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1956. Pp. i-ii, 1-48. Price Rs.2-12-0.
2. SĀRASANĠRAHA. Edited by Krishna Gopal Goswami Sastri, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer (now Reader) in the Department of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta, with Introduction and Notes. Published as No. III of the Asutosh Sanskrit Series by the same University, 1949. Pp. i-lxxxv, 1-225. Price not stated.

These two books on Vaiṣṇavism deal with different aspects of the cult. The form̃er is an historical study about its development from the advent of the Suṅgas to the fall of the Guptas on the basis of archaeological data. The latter, on the other hand, is a critical edition of an unpublished text on the mysteries of the peculiar type of Vaiṣṇavism prevalent in medieval Bengal. This important text is usually attributed to the great Vaiṣṇava theologian of the Gauḍīya School, Rūpa Kavirāja.

The first book consisting of two chapters, originally printed in two issues of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, is now published separately in the form of a monograph with a short introduction, bibliography and index. Books comprising historical studies on Vaiṣṇavism are not many, those by R. G. Bhandarkar and H. C. Raychaudhuri being the most authoritative ones. Bhandarkar's was a pioneer work (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*), and many of his important conclusions of an historical nature about the cult were mostly drawn from the available literary sources. He did not utilize the archaeological data to the extent it was done by Raychaudhuri in his book, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, whose treatment of the literary and archaeological data known at that time was masterly. But their excellent studies appeared long ago, and new archaeological as well as literary materials have come to light since then. Again some of the already known data have been interpreted in a new light, and a work incorporating these latest researches was felt as a desideratum. Sri Goswami's brochure utilizing a good many of them is a welcome addition to our knowledge about the historical evolution of the cult. It is only to be observed that he should have utilized more fully some of the new discoveries, a few of which appear to have escaped his notice.

In the first chapter after giving a very short account of the origin of the cult, the author deals at some length with the position of Vaiṣṇavism in several parts of India during the Suṅga and the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa periods. Though his treatment of the topic is fairly scholarly, he has failed to notice and utilize properly the present reviewer's interpretation of the data gathered from Nagari, Nanaghat and Mora Well Inscriptions. He should have discussed the point about the worship of the 'heroes' (*Viras*) like Saṁkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Śāmba and Aniruddha, collectively described as Pañcavīras of the Vṛṣṇis in the Mora Well Inscription, as well as in the *Vāyupurāṇa* which also dubbed them as 'deities-originally human

by nature' (*manuṣya-prakṛti devas*). This point was first raised and discussed by the reviewer more than ten years before the publication of Śrī Goswami's book. In the second and last chapter of it, the author has given an able account of the Bhakti cult centering round Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu prevalent in different parts of India. He has noted successfully most of the epigraphic data of the period, and drawn justifiable conclusions on their basis about the nature and extent of the cult. This is a useful and scholarly publication, and it can be recommended for study to all serious students of the religious history of ancient India.

Kunja Govinda Goswami states in the last paragraph of his brochure 'that the cult of *bhakti* or Vaiṣṇavism takes a new turn with the decline of the Gupta power towards an amatory attitude'. The remark is specially applicable to the particular type of the cult that centred round the intense love of Rādhā and the Gopīs for the divine lover Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. This aspect of Vaiṣṇavism found its special development in mediæval Bengal, and the teachings of Mahāprabhu Śrī-Chaitanya marked its quintessence. The post-Chaitanya Vaiṣṇava theologians of Bengal dwelt on the different phases of this mystically erotic divine love in a scholarly and dispassionate manner in their works, and a group of them extolled the greatness of the *parakīyā* form of love in its divine context as manifested in that of the Gopīs of Vraja for Lord Kṛṣṇa. The author of *Sārasaṅgraha* dwelt on the real nature of the *bhakti* cult of the Bengal school 'in its transcendental theories and implications'. The editor of this text consulted as many as four different manuscripts in the preparation of its critical edition, a difficult task, in the performance of which he got the able guidance of his father, a distinguished Vaiṣṇava theologian of the old school. *Sārasaṅgraha* 'elucidates the mysteries and significance chiefly of *mādhurya*' in all its facets of *rati* (love), *līlās* (ecstatic sports) and *sādhana*s (means of realization of *bhakti*). The editor has drawn the pointed attention of his readers to all the various topics of interest dealt with in the text in an elaborate introduction. A study of it as well as of the ably written foreword of the edition by Satkari Mookerjee will enable the readers of the book to understand the real nature of this aspect of the abstruse doctrine of mystically erotic love as preached by the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavas.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

DHARMOTTARAPRADĪPA OF DURVEKA MIŚRA. Edited by Dalsukhbhai Malvania. Published by the Kashiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1955.

The work under review is a sub-commentary on Dharmottara's *Nyāya-binduṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Nyāyabindu*, a work on Buddhist logic by Dharmakīrti. It is published for the first time on the basis of the photographs of the manuscript procured by Pandita Rahula Sankṛityayana from Tibet and kept in the Bihar Research Society. It will be very useful to those interested in 'the studies and researches in Indian logic in general and Buddhist logic in particular'.

It is generally believed that the Buddhist literature preserved in manuscripts in the monasteries was mostly destroyed with the decay or destruction of the monasteries. Unfortunately not a single work, excepting that of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, has as yet been discovered in India. The Buddhist works that we study today have been procured from places outside the borders of India. They are also available in Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian translations. The discoveries of manuscripts in Central Asia and Gilgit

(Kashmir) have added to the stock of our knowledge of the Buddhist literature.

In the present volume are included three works: *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti, *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* of Dharmottara and *Dharmottarapradīpa* of Durveka. Although the first two works have already appeared in print, they have been incorporated here in order to facilitate the study of the *Dharmottarapradīpa*. The *Pradīpa* is published on the basis of a single manuscript, hence lacks any emendation. The manuscript is good, but is obscure in some places. A few lacunae are there in the text. These are due to illegibility of the manuscript as the editor himself admits.

Apart from the *Dharmottarapradīpa*, there are a few commentaries on the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Nyāyabindu* which has got no less than six other commentaries on it. This speaks eloquently of the popularity, as also the importance of the *Nyāyabindu*, the original text commented upon. It contains three chapters: perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference for the sake of one's own self (*svārthānumāna*) and inference for the sake of others (*parārthānumāna*). In the *Dharmottarapradīpa* Durveka himself has mentioned 'that the *Nyāyabindu* is meant for those of brief interest in logic and therefore, in spite of the presence of a treatise like the *Pramāṇavārtika*, it serves its own purpose'.

Just like other commentaries, the present work is a word for word commentary. It explains each and every word of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*. But its characteristic feature lies in the fact that it sets forth the views of previous commentators and accepts those which seem most plausible. Compilations are usually mechanical, but it is a pleasure to note that the work under review does not fail to be critical when criticism is really called for. Durveka has not spared even Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara in this regard. He has pointed out the inconsistencies of their views in many places. This proves his great scholarship in the domain of Buddhist logic as also his independence of judgment. Even in explaining grammatical forms our author has shown commendable skill. His language is rich and idiomatic. His 'use of Sanskrit idioms and illustrative arguments has made the dry philosophical treatise quite an interesting one'.

In his illuminating introduction, the editor has given an account of the origin and development of the Buddhist logic. He has given valuable notes at the end and has further appended seven indices containing important philosophical and other terms. These will be very useful to all students of Indian logic.

Nothing is known of the personal life of Durveka from this work. We only know that he was a student of Jitāri. He was also the author of six other works. Of them the manuscript of the *Hetubinduṭīkā* has also been procured by Rahulji from Tibet.

The Kashiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, therefore, deserves our grateful thanks for the publication of such a volume.

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN 1954

(A survey of periodical publications)

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA 16

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PREFACE

This bibliography, started in 1953, seeks to remove the inconvenience caused to scholars by bringing out in proper time the bibliography of researches carried out by the Indologists. It has a wider scope than those of the Kern Institute and the Bombay Historical Society; it deals with Indology in the most comprehensive sense as stated in the Oxford English Dictionary (1933 ed.), Vol. 5, H-K, p. 227, col. 3.

It is regretted that the present issue, second in the series, is appearing rather late and also in an incomplete form. This is due primarily to the difficulties in getting together all the periodicals even in Calcutta. In the present issue, articles published in *Journals* for the year 1954 only (sometimes published as late as 1957) have been indexed, mainly from the periodical collections of the Library of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), National Library (Calcutta) and the Oriental Institute (Baroda). Its scope and arrangement are almost the same as that of the previous volume, except in a few cases, where notes and/or table of contents have been added. It has no ambitious pretensions. This is an annual record of articles relating to Indological studies. To have a critical and comprehensive bibliography, collaboration of a team of scholars and bibliographers is necessary, in addition to a library well-stocked with current periodicals. They are not available at the present moment for want of funds. But these shortcomings can be removed to some extent with the active co-operation of scholars, learned societies, librarians, and publishers, if they kindly send notices of their publications with abstracts, and bring to the notice of the editor the omissions in the compilation of this bibliography. Their help will be gratefully acknowledged.

In spite of all these difficulties, every effort has been made to make this as exhaustive as possible. A supplementary section (pp. 39-42) has been added for the materials collected after the first portion was printed off.

Acknowledgements are due to all scholars and librarians who in some way or other have helped me in the compilation of this bibliography, especially to Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Dr. J. N. Banerjea, Shri B. S. Kesavan and Shri S. K. Saraswati.

S. CHAUDHURI

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- A.L.B. : The Adyar Library Bulletin. ब्रह्मविद्या। New Series. Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2 and 3-4, 1954. Madras.
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- Z.D.M.G.: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Vol. CIV (N.S., Vol. XIX), Nos. 1 and 2. Wiesbaden.

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